Global War on Terrorism - The Propensity for Blacks to Serve in the U.S. Army

A Monograph

by

MAJ James M. Smith

U.S. Army

School of Advanced Military Studies

United States Army Command and General Staff College

Fort Leavenworth, Kansas

AY 05-06

REPORT DOCUMENTATION PAGE

1. REPORT DATE *(DD-MM-YYYY)*	2. REPORT TYPE	3. DATES COVERED *(From - To)*
25-05-2006	**MONOGRAPH**	**SEPT 2005-MAR 2006**

4. TITLE AND SUBTITLE	5a. CONTRACT NUMBER
Global War on Terrorism - The Propensity for Blacks to Serve in the United States Army	
	5b. GRANT NUMBER
	5c. PROGRAM ELEMENT NUMBER

6. AUTHOR(S)	5d. PROJECT NUMBER
MAJ James M. Smith	
	5e. TASK NUMBER
	5f. WORK UNIT NUMBER

7. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION NAME(S) AND ADDRESS(ES)	8. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION REPORT NUMBER
School of Advanced Military Studies 250 Gibbon Ave Ft. Leavenworth, KS 66027	

9. SPONSORING/MONITORING AGENCY NAME(S) AND ADDRESS(ES)	10. SPONSOR/MONITOR'S ACRONYM(S)
Command and General Staff College 1 Reynolds Ave Ft. Leavenworth, KS 66027	CGSC, SAMS
	11. SPONSOR/MONITOR'S REPORT NUMBER(S)

12. DISTRIBUTION/AVAILABILITY STATEMENT

APPROVED FOR PUBLIC RELEASE; DISTRIBUTION IS UNLIMITED

13. SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES

14. ABSTRACT

The U.S. Army has experienced a disproportionate decline in Black recruitment. Blacks, who once represented 23 percent of annual recruits, now only represent less than 14 percent. What factors have caused the disproportionate decline in Black recruits? Does the decline in Black recruits impact U.S. Army diversity initiatives? The answers to these questions provide insights to measures the U.S Army must take to reverse this trend.

This monograph explores the critical question: Has the Global War on Terrorism caused the disproportionate decline in Black recruits for the U.S. Army? It seeks to answer this critical question using the Political, Military, Economic, Social, Information, Infrastructure (PMESII) model as a framework. The Political, Economic and Social domains are deemed most important in the analysis of Black culture. The monograph analyzes these three domains to determine any factors or trends that have caused the decline on Black recruits.

15. SUBJECT TERMS

Blacks, Political, Social, Economic, Influencer, Diversity, Recruiting, Blacks, GWOT

16. SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF:			17 LIMITATION OF ABSTRACT	18. NUMBER OF PAGES	19a. NAME OF RESPONSIBLE PERSON
REPORT **(U)**	b. ABSTRACT **(U)**	c. THIS PAGE **(U)**	**(U)**	69	19B. TELEPHONE. NUMBER *(Include area code)* (913) 758-3300

Standard Form 298 (Rev. 8/98)

SCHOOL OF ADVANCED MILITARY STUDIES

MONOGRAPH APPROVAL

MAJ James M. Smith

Title of Monograph: GLOBAL WAR ON TERRORISM - THE PROPENSITY FOR BLACKS TO SERVE IN THE U.S. ARMY

Approved by:

_____ Monograph Director
William Raymond Jr., COL, PhD.

_____ Director,
Kevin C.M. Benson, COL, AR School of Advanced
Military Studies

_____ Director,
Robert F. Baumann, Ph.D. Graduate Degree
Programs

ABSTRACT

GLOBAL WAR ON TERRORISM- THE PROPENSITY FOR BLACKS TO SERVE IN THE U.S. ARMY by James M. Smith, 69 pages.

The U.S. Army has experienced a disproportionate decline in Black recruitment. Blacks, who once represented 23 percent of annual recruits, now only represent less than 14 percent. What factors have caused the disproportionate decline in Black recruits? Does the decline in Black recruits impact U.S. Army diversity initiatives? The answers to these questions provide insights to measures the U.S Army must take to reverse this trend.

This monograph explores the critical question: Has the Global War on Terrorism caused the disproportionate decline in Black recruits for the U.S. Army? It seeks to answer this critical question using the Political, Military, Economic, Social, Information, Infrastructure (PMESII) model as a framework. The Political, Economic and Social domains are deemed most important in the analysis of Black culture. The monograph analyzes these three domains to determine any factors or trends that have caused the decline on Black recruits. Also included is a detailed, historical analysis of the propensity for Blacks to serve in the U.S. Army since the Revolutionary War. The historical section presents a foundation of patriotism and willingness to serve despite racial prejudices.

The political section suggests partisan politics play a role in the propensity of Blacks to serve in the U.S. Army. The section explores the original migration of Blacks to the Democratic Party, the impact of the 2000 elections, and the powerful influence of the Congressional Black Caucus (CBC) in the Black community. The monograph then explores the Economic domain. This section disproves the common misconception that a booming economy currently dissuades Blacks from joining the military. The section examined such economic factors as U.S. labor markets, median household incomes, and the perception amongst many Blacks that government funding for the GWOT directly impacts much needed funding in the urban community. The Social section examines the Black culture through such filters as religion, civic organizations, family (parents), and the hip hop culture. The forces of powerful, prominent Black leaders along with the hip hop culture and Black influencers combine to create an overwhelming anti-war sentiment in the Black community. This major anti-war theme has worked to decrease the enlistment rates of Blacks joining the U.S. Army. The monograph includes results from a high school survey that reinforces the notion that political and social aspects of Black American culture have caused a disproportionate decline in Black recruitment and may jeopardize diversity efforts in the U.S. Army.

Many businesses attest to the goodness espoused from a diverse workforce. For the U.S. Army, a diverse force enhances readiness. The disproportionate decline of Black recruits, if not reversed, will indirectly erode diversity initiatives due to the decrease in population of future Black non-commissioned officers. The decline hinders the U.S. Army's ability to provide a diverse NCO Corps in the future, thus threatening its ability to effectively function and fulfill its mission, potentially impacting readiness.

In order to reverse the decline, the monograph suggests the answer lies beyond traditional high school recruiting efforts and television commercials. The great, professional Black officers, NCOs and soldiers of the U.S. Army must themselves reach back to Black communities. The diminution of Black recruits ostensibly reverses the contributions of their Black military ancestors. One cannot effect change in an organization of which they are not a part.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

TABLE OF FIGURES

INTRODUCTION

Today's conditions represent the most challenging conditions we have seen in recruiting in my 33 years in this uniform.
                                                        Major General Michael D. Rochelle, U.S. Army

In the midst of the nation's first prolonged war since Vietnam, the Army is having difficulty finding enough recruits. One of the main reasons is that African-American enlistments, for decades a sure thing, have declined about 40% since 2000, as Figure 1 shows.[1]

Edwin Dorn, former Undersecretary of Defense for Personnel and Readiness, suggested, "I suspect that one major factor is the war in Iraq, which is regarded differently in the Black community than in the White community."[2] Blacks in the United States have traditionally been a mainstay in the United States Army. From the creation of the Continental Army under General George Washington to as recent as the current Global War on Terrorism (GWOT), Black recruitment has been a subject of controversy and contention. The issues are numerous, but the key ones include: the right of Blacks to serve in the U.S. Army; the capability of Blacks serving in the Army; segregation of Black Army units; U.S. Army imposed recruiting quotas to match the Black U.S. population; and now more recently, the disproportionate decline of Blacks serving in the U.S. Army.

---

[1] Dave Moniz, "Opportunities, Opposition to Iraq War Cut Into Recruiting," *USA Today*, 4 November 2005, accessed at http://www.usatoday.com/news/nation/2005-11-03-army-blacks-inside_x.htm.

[2] Josh White, "Steady Drop in Black Army Recruits: Data Said to Reflect Views on Iraq War," *The Washington Post*, 9 March 2005, accessed at http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A18461-2005Mar8.html.

Figure 1 Steady Drop in Black Army Recruits.

The purpose of this monograph is to gain a fundamental understanding of the propensity for Blacks to serve in the U.S. Army. Although the paper includes statistical analysis revealing determinants that influence Black recruitment, it goes beyond numbers and explores some of the political, sociological, economic factors that have transcended Black generations and continue to bear on the decisions of Blacks on whether or not to serve. There are a myriad of issues that could be addressed regarding Blacks in the military. Due to the scope and scale of this paper, the author has limited the research to providing insights on whether the GWOT, in particular, caused a disproportionate decrease in Black recruitment. And if so, to what extent are U.S. Army diversity initiatives and combat readiness jeopardized?

To establish a common framework, the author defines the GWOT as the commencement of military operations in Afghanistan (Operation Enduring Freedom-OEF) following the September 11, 2001 bombings on the World Trade towers and the Pentagon. Although no substantial evidence has been found linking Saddam Hussein and Osama Bin Laden, the author includes Operation Iraqi Freedom (OIF) as part of the GWOT because President George Bush deployed thousands of troops and conducted preemptive strikes based on this fact, and the notion that Saddam Hussein had weapons of mass destruction. Theoretically, the GWOT started before September 11, 2001 with such tragic instances as the World Trade Center bombing in 1993, the *USS Cole* bombing in 2000, and the U.S. embassy bombings in Kenya in 1998.

The percentage of Blacks serving in the U.S. Army has historically exceeded the percentage of the U.S. Black population. As U.S. Army recruiters struggle to enlist men and women into the ranks, Blacks, who once represented 23% of the annual recruits in FY 2000, now only represent 14%. The overall decline in U.S. Army recruiting numbers can explain part of the downward trend. However, the disproportionate decrease in Black enlistments suggests a more profound issue, one possibly related to the dissenting views many Black Americans share regarding the GWOT. During a speech at the National Defense University on March 8, 2005, President Bush stated: "Encouraging democracy in that (Middle East) region is a generational commitment."[3] The perceived longevity of the GWOT may have a tremendous impact on the Army's diversity initiatives and thus calls for an immediate examination and analysis of this phenomenon.

The thesis of this paper is that in response to the GWOT, political and social aspects of the Black American culture have caused the recent disproportionate decrease in Black recruitment and may jeopardize diversity efforts in the U.S. Army. From a political perspective, there is growing dissent among the major recruiting pool of Blacks toward the current Administration's policy on the GWOT. A poll conducted by the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies

showed that only 19.2 percent of Blacks support the United States going to war in Iraq.[4] Muslim extremists conduct terrorist activities indiscriminately to further their cause, leaving all Americans vulnerable. Black Americans, from a social perspective, are more inclined to identify with more tangible problems facing young, inner-city, urban youth such as the economy, job

---

[3] President George Bush, speech, National Defense University, 8 March 2005, accessed at http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2005/03/20050308-3.html.
[4] "Joint Center 2002 National Opinion Poll Shows War With Iraq a Low Priority for Black Voters," The Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies, 29 October 2002, accessed at http://www.jointcenter.org/pressroom1/PressReleasesDetail.php?recordID=20. The survey was conducted between 17 September and 21 October 2002, among 1,647 adults around the country. There are two component samples: 850 African Americans and 850 members of the general population (including 53 African Americans). There is a statistical margin of error of 3.5 percent. This is the Joint Center's 12th national poll since 1984.

market, drugs, poverty, education, incarceration, and violence. A 2004 poll of registered Black

voters revealed when choosing a candidate, 34 percent thought the economy and jobs were the

single most important issue, compared to just 7 percent who thought national defense was most

important.[5]

Diversity in any organization is fundamental to its success. Diversity breeds unit

cohesion and an enhanced understanding of various cultures. Although there is still room for

improvement, the U.S. Army has made great improvements in its diversity efforts, especially

since the end of the civil rights era. Today's Black generation should not shy away from military

service because of policy disagreements or social priorities. Theoretically, the GWOT has been

around longer than the current Administration, and will unfortunately continue through at least

the next. The U.S. Army has provided great opportunities for many Blacks and can be viewed as

part of a solution to the aforementioned problems facing today's inner-city youth.

---

[5] Black America's Political Action Committee (BAMPAC), 2004 National Survey of Registered Voters. Wilson Researchers conducted the poll for BAMPAC from 30 June- 4 July 2004. 800 Blacks were surveyed. Margin of error: 3.5 percent.

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

We should learn to see things in a higher light.

Booker T. Washington, 1898

In order to establish a basis of comparison with Blacks serving in support of the GWOT, it is important to lay a historical foundation. The monograph highlights critical aspects of Black service since the Revolutionary War. The propensity for Blacks to serve in the U.S. Army remained high throughout the nation's history despite racial and social injustices. The historical section of the paper will demonstrate the disproportionate numbers in which Blacks served in the U.S. Army, at times twice the population percentage of Blacks in the United States. Going from disproportionately serving their country to a disproportionate decline in Black recruitment warrants an in-depth examination, one that requires historical context.

The U.S Army was established on June 14, 1775 in response to British encroachment on colonial interests. Unknown by many, tens of thousands of Black slaves abandoned their plantations to fight for the British against their masters. The underlying theme for the slaves was freedom. A British proclamation promised to set slaves free only if they joined British ranks. Although Blacks actually served and fought in wars on American soil decades before the Revolutionary War with Washington, the first account of a Black soldier fighting in the U.S. Army was James Lafayette, formerly known as James Armistead. Lafayette, a free Northerner, posed as a runaway slave and infiltrated British lines. He provided critical intelligence that would aid the Americans in their decisive battle over the British.[6]

The issue of slavery had both political and economic implications as early as the Revolutionary War. It appears the early use of Blacks in a military fashion was only a response to critical manning shortages throughout history. Noted military author Gary Donaldson wrote:

---

[6] The American Revolution and the Post-Revolutionary Era: A Historical Legacy, Chapter 1, National Counterintelligence Center, 28 January 206, accessed at http://www.fas.org/irp/ops/ci/docs/ci1/ch1a.htm.

As the war against England progressed and there was a need for more manpower in the ranks in the face of a growing and more powerful British force, the Black soldier became a necessary part of both the Continental Army and the state militias as manpower shortages outweighed any reluctance to give guns to Black men.[7]

This trend seems prevalent until after the Vietnam War. Politically, the issue of slavery divided early colonialists, as some believed the words espoused in the Declaration of Independence should transcend color boundaries, while others felt it only applied to people of Anglo-Saxon decent. Authors August Meier and Elliot Rudwick wrote:

> During the Revolutionary War many thoughtful White Americans, especially in the North…were seriously concerned with the moral issue of slavery. Farther South, slave owners like George Washington and Thomas Jefferson looked forward to its gradual abolition. Only in South Carolina and Georgia was support for the slavery system undiminished.[8]

Economically, the motivating factor to keep slavery as an institution was the labor it provided to plantation owners. Thus, the cognitive tension surrounding the issue of slavery was human rights versus property rights. Property rights would prevail because it was another century before America would formerly ban slavery.

After the Revolutionary War, but prior to World War II, Blacks went through tumultuous times in the quest to end slavery and obtain equal rights. The legal basis for slavery in America stemmed from the Supreme Court decision rendered in the *Dred Scott* case. The Supreme Court in 1850 denied Scott, a slave of a U.S. Army officer, his freedom after he had enjoyed the fruits of freedom practically his entire life. Chief Justice Roger B. Taney declared: "that all blacks -- slaves as well as free were not and could never become citizens of the United States."[9]

---

[7] Gary A. Donaldson, *The History of African Americans in the Military* (Kreiger Publishing Company, Malabar, Florida, 1991), 11-12.

[8] August Meier and Elliot Rudwick, *From Plantation to Ghetto*, rev ed (Hill and Wang, New York, 1970), 47.

[9] "Dred Scott case: the Supreme Court Decision," 20 January 2006, accessed at http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/aia/part4/4h2933.html.

Chief Justice Taney also stated:

> Framers of the Constitution believed that Blacks had no rights which the White man was bound to respect; and that the Negro might justly and lawfully be reduced to slavery for his benefit. He was bought and sold and treated as an ordinary article of merchandise and traffic, whenever profit could be made by it.[10]

Thus, the *Dred Scott* decision formerly labeled slaves as property. The Civil War, Reconstruction, and World War I were eras in which the use of Blacks in the U.S. Army was strictly to counter manpower shortages.

The end of the Civil War technically put an end to slavery in America. In the ends-ways-means construct, the issue of slavery was used as a "way" as opposed to an "end" in the context of strategic aims for Union President Abraham Lincoln. President Lincoln approached the Civil War with the notion he would swiftly defeat Southern secessionists. Research suggests President Lincoln had no plans nor did he intend to free any slaves for the sake of humanity during his tenure. Authors Meier and Rudwick wrote: "Neither the Administration at Washington nor White public opinion in 1861 generally regarded the war in this (freedom for slaves) light. To them it was emphatically a war to preserve the Union, not to end slavery, much less to obtain for Negroes the rights of citizens."[11]

Working against Lincoln's strategy were three states that bordered Union territory. These states still practiced slavery but were initially neutral during the early days of the Civil War. An overt suggestion as to the abolishment of slavery would have pushed these border states into alignment with Confederate interests, creating a further threat to Union forces. After initial defeats, and severe casualties, President Lincoln, realized he had to change his strategic objectives in order to defeat the Confederates. Knowing the Confederates economically relied on slaves, President Lincoln announced the abolishment of slavery in America as a means to destroy

---

[10] Ibid.

[11] August Meier and Elliot Rudwick, *From Plantation to Ghetto*, rev ed (Hill and Wang, New York, 1970), 137.

the Confederate's economic base. President Lincoln also encouraged Blacks to join Union ranks and "earn" their freedom.

Although not the political objective of the Lincoln Administration, ending slavery was indeed the political objective for Blacks. Led by activists like Frederick Douglass, there was a movement amongst prominent Blacks of the time to enlist more Blacks into the rank and file of the Union Army. Frederick Douglass once said:

> Once let the black man get upon his person the brass letters, U.S., let him get an eagle on his button, and a musket on his shoulder and bullets in his pockets, and there is no power on earth which can deny that he has earned the right to citizenship in the United States.[12]

Blacks wanted to fight at the onset of the Civil War, however, legislation passed by the government in 1792 essentially excluded Blacks from the military, preventing their enlistment. Louisiana was the only state with exception to this law. Louisiana was exempt from the federal law prohibiting Blacks from joining military ranks because of the special treaties and provisions with which it became a state. Blacks were not allowed to serve in the military until July 1862 with the passage of the Second Confiscation and Militia Act. Approximately 180,000 African Americans comprising 163 units served in the Union Army during the Civil War.[13] The willingness of Blacks to serve in the U.S. Army becomes prevalent in successive wars as well.

At the conclusion of the Civil War, the Army retained Blacks for two reasons. First, the initial enlistment of White Union soldiers were either over or soon to expire. Blacks that had joined Union forces did so only two years prior to the end of the war. Therefore, many Blacks had considerable time left on their enlistment. Additionally, Blacks remained a part of Union ranks to support the Reconstruction effort.

The Reconstruction Era was the period immediately following the end of the Civil War

---

[12] National Park Service, "History of African Americans in the Civil War," 19 December 2005, accessed at http://www.itd.nps.gov/cwss/history/aa_cw_history.htm.
[13]Ibid.

from 1865-1877, a time in which the Northern Union government made dire attempts to reestablish the Southern states. Black soldiers served as a quasi-occupation force in the South to keep confederate militias from uprising. The deep hatred Southern Whites felt for Blacks originated from the use of Blacks as an occupying force in the South. Once slave owners, the Southern Whites now were at the mercy of armed Blacks. It is important to identify different perspectives on the success or failure of Reconstruction, and the implications on Blacks' role in the U.S. Army.

For Blacks, the early years of the Reconstruction Era were joyous, as they exercised their right to vote and legislation prohibited racial discrimination. As Clausewitz's often misused quote stated: "war is an extension of politics."[14] One cannot discuss the Reconstruction Era without mention of the political climate. President Lincoln's initial plan for Reconstruction was the reintegration of America as a whole nation. His plan, however, did not include any civil rights provisions for Blacks, nor did it allow for Blacks to participate in any form of Government. The Wade Davis Bill of 1864 excluded Blacks from government positions and denied them the right to vote. Section 2[15] of the Bill requested only White males to take an oath to support the Constitution. Section 4[16] emphasized the point that only loyal White male citizens could elect

---

[14] Carl von Clausewitz, *On War*, Michael Howard and Peter Paret, edit. and trans (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976), 87.

[15] National Archives and Records Administration, "Wade-Davis Bill," 19 December 2005, accessed at http://www.classbrain.com/artteenst/publish/article_55.shtml.

Section 2 stated: And be it further enacted, that so soon as the military resistance to the United States shall have been suppressed in any such state, and the people thereof shall have sufficiently returned to their obedience to the Constitution and the laws of the United States, the provisional governor shall direct the marshal of the United States, as speedily as may be, to name a sufficient number of deputies, and to enroll all White male citizens of the United States, resident in the state in their respective counties, and to request each one to take the oath to support the Constitution of the United States, and in his enrollment to designate those who take and those who refuse to take that oath, which rolls shall be forthwith returned to the provisional governor

[16] Ibid.

Section 4 of the bill stated, "And be it further enacted, That the delegates shall be elected by the loyal white male citizens of the United States of the age of twenty-one years, and resident at the time in the county, parish, or district in which they shall offer to vote, and enrolled as aforesaid, or absent in the military service of the United States, and who shall take and subscribe the oath of allegiance to the United States in the form contained in the act of Congress of July two, eighteen hundred and sixty-two."

state delegates. President Lincoln never signed the Wade Bill. He pocket-vetoed the bill which set the tone for future dissention between Radical Republicans and Congress. Many considered President Lincoln too lenient on the Southern States. It was not until after his death, Radical Republicans were able to amend the Constitution. The following year, Congress and the States ratified the 13th Amendment to the Constitution and formerly banned slavery in the United States. Two years later, the 14th Amendment further legalized a person's rights by stating "nor shall any state deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws."[17]

Despite legislation banning slavery and equal rights, former Southern slave states created state laws called "Black Codes." The Black Codes were state legislated laws enacted to restrict the freedom and movement of former slaves. The 15th Amendment passed in 1870 prohibited racial discrimination in voting, but did little to stifle the initiative of White Southern Democrats. By 1877, Reconstruction failed and the same pre-war discrimination subjugated Blacks.

In response to racial riots and uprisings during the Reconstruction Era, Union officials ordered Black soldiers to defend the Western frontier, away from the mass population centers of the South. The West offered some of the harshest living conditions known to any soldier. It was often thought that Blacks could endure more harsh weather than their White counterparts. Again, Blacks welcomed the opportunity to join the military because of political and economic reasons. Despite Blacks willingness to join the ranks, most Whites believed Blacks were truly an inferior race. In his classic book *The Negro Vanguard*, Richard Bardolph, noted author, wrote:

> The common Negro's doubts of his own capacities now operated to fix his level
> of aspiration. Formally, the question had been academic, for he was not his own
> man, but now old feelings of inadequacy persisted into the new era of freedom as
> Whites with new reasons for perpetuating the sense of inferiority affirmed—

---

[17]14th. Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, 19 December 2005, accessed at
http://www.nps.gov/malu/documents/amend14.htm.

indeed legislated it.[18]

This period of time demoralized Blacks but did not break their willingness to serve. Both Southern and Northern Whites grew to resent Black soldiers. According to U.S. census figures, there were 8.8 million Blacks in the United States in 1900, representing 11.6 percent of the total U.S. population.[19] Congress passed the Selective Service Act in May 1917. Author Gary Donaldson wrote that Blacks "swarmed the recruiting stations…of the two million African Americans (Blacks) who registered for the draft between 1917 and 1919, 367,000 were taken, some 13 percent of the total number of draftees."[20] As the numbers suggest, Blacks remained committed to serving their country during World War I.

The inter-war period (between World War I and World War II) marked a time of heightened political controversy. An examination of this period is incomplete without considering the political context. Since the Civil War and the Emancipation Proclamation, Blacks politically aligned themselves with the Republican Party. During the interwar years, a group of self proclaimed "Radical Republicans" pushed the abolitionist agenda. This political affiliation would continue until the 1936 elections. During the 1936 elections, candidate Franklin Delano Roosevelt ran on a campaign that assisted Blacks in achieving equal rights. This campaign would impact on the War Department's recruiting policies. The New Deal, as President Franklin Deleanor Roosevelt described, was a broad campaign slogan that promised to help millions of people who had lost jobs during the Great Depression. Although Roosevelt did some work improving race relations, he, like most leaders of the Progressive Era, lacked initiative on most racial issues.[21] It was his wife Eleanor, and the pressure from Black activists, that

---

[18] Richard Bardolph, *The Negro Vanguard* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and C., 1959) 60.
[19] Claudette E. Bennett, *We the Americans: Blacks*, U.S. Department of Commerce, Economics and Statistics Administration (September 1993), 2.
[20] Gary A. Donaldson, *The History of African Americans in the Military* (Malabar: Kreiger Publishing Company, 1991), 90.
[21] "The Presidency of Theodore Roosevelt," 21 January 2006, accessed from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Presidency_of_Theodore_Roosevelt.

persuaded Roosevelt to support Black interests. Donaldson wrote: "She (Eleanor) had the unusual position of being able to speak for Blacks in the Administration when Black leaders could not."[22] Thus in 1932, the Black vote shifted from the Republican to the Democratic Party.

The implications on recruiting in the U.S. Army were great. There were, however, social injustices that trumped any political improvement for Black recruits. Black leaders saw the shallowness in President Roosevelt's New Deal. In his book *FDR and the South*, author Frank Friedel wrote that Roosevelt never "sufficiently challenged Southern traditions of white supremacy to create problems for himself."[23] During this era, in the face of many Blacks were the derogatorily phrased "Jim Crow" laws.

The Jim Crow laws, institutionalized in the last two decades of the 19th century, embraced a segregated society. After the U.S. Supreme Court ruled the 1875 Civil Rights Act unconstitutional, [24] Southern states began passing legislation that essentially created a separate but equal society for Blacks. The impact on recruiting was tremendous. Blacks could only enlist into "colored units." The U.S. Army had to build additional infrastructure to accommodate the increase in Black recruitment. The segregation policies created much inefficiency for the U.S. Army. Racial riots and protests were common during this time due to the prejudices Blacks faced trying to join the military. Whites regularly lynched Black recruits as a form of terrorism and deterrent from joining the U.S. Army. The Jim Crow laws were an abominable part of America's past and directly impacted the recruitment of Blacks in the U.S. Army.

Although Blacks faced much adversity, as a whole, they were determined to serve their country. There are a myriad of reasons why a person wants to join the Army, but for Blacks

---

[22] Donaldson, 105.

[23] Frank Freidel, *F.D.R. and the South* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1965), 71-102. See also Bayard Rustin, *Strategies for Freedom: The Changing Patterns of Black Protest* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1976), 16.

[24] Michael J. Freidman, "40th Anniversary of the Civil Rights Act of 1964," U.S. Department of State, 21 December 2005, accessed at http://usinfo.state.gov/usa/civilrights/cract40anniv.htm.

during this timeframe, the main reasons were patriotism, economics, and a venue to correct the many social injustices. External factors that increased Blacks propensity to join the Army include the Great Depression, the unwillingness of the other services to admit Blacks into their ranks, and fascism in Germany.

Blacks were more than ready to serve their country during World War II. The sense of patriotism was an ameliorable feeling amongst many Blacks. Columnist Earl Ofari Hutchinson commented:

> During America's wars, Black protest has always given way to Black patriotism… Patriotic fever among Blacks soared during World War II. Black newspapers carried headlines Buy a Liberty Bond and Win the War." Not only did Blacks buy millions of dollars in war bonds, they also staged victory balls, rallies, and fund drives.[25]

Blacks felt as if America was just as much their country as anyone else's. At this point in time, there were second and third generation Blacks born on the soils of America. The stigma of slavery was beginning to fade, but the realities of segregation persisted.

The information domain provides a unique perspective of Black patriotism. *The Pittsburgh Courier* launched a double V campaign. The newspaper was balanced in its support for the war and quest for civil rights for Blacks. It ran the theme, "Democracy: Victory at Home, Victory Abroad,"[26] articulating its patriotism to America and Blacks. Patriotism was not the only reason creating the high propensity for Blacks to join the U.S. Army. Author Michael L. Cooper noted, "When African Americans (Blacks) demanded to fight on the front lines in World War II, they were not being exceptionally brave. Blacks wanted to shoulder the responsibility of citizenship in order to win their own long battle for equality in the United States."[27] This pro war

---

[25] Earl Ofari Hutchinson, *Will Barbara Lee's Risky Gamble Pay Off?*, 21 December 2005, accessed at http://www.alternet.org/columnists/story/11546/.

[26] Forum: When Pittsburgh Took on the World, 4 February 2006, accessed at http://www.post-gazette.com/pg/05226/553317.stm.

[27] Michael L. Cooper, *The Double V Campaign: African Americans in World War II* (Dutton: Lodestar Books,1998), 1.

campaign obviously drew Blacks closer to the ranks of the military, but there were more tangible

economic factors bearing on a Blacks' propensity to join the Army.

Economics played a vital role in Blacks propensity to serve their nation as well. The

Great Depression, Great Migration, and a much desired drive to escape the ghetto, were

influential. Although the Great Depression, caused by the big stock market crash in October

1929, affected all races, the Depression devastated Blacks disproportionately due to their place on

the social ladder at the time. The Depression created a lack of civilian jobs. Companies fired

Blacks, who once held good paying jobs, to accommodate the hiring of Whites. Although the

Great Depression occurred more than a decade before World War II, its long lasting effects

pushed more Blacks to the recruiting office in the 1940's.

The Great Migration created a push-pull effect for Blacks in America. Rural poverty and

racial terror pushed millions of Blacks to Northern urban areas. Industrial jobs created by World

War I and impending World War II, pulled Blacks to Northern cities like Detroit and Chicago.

Southern Blacks saw an opportunity to take advantage of the industrial jobs created by World

War I, as European immigration tailored off. Authors Abigail and Stephan Thermstrom wrote:

The second (migration) was four times the size of the first. During the 1940's, more than

one-third of all young Blacks in Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, and South Carolina departed for

the North. In the South as a whole, 26 percent of the Black population ages 20 to 24 headed

North between 1940 and 1950, and another 25 percent followed suit in the next ten years.[28]

Blacks perceived the North was better suited for the race. As part of this migration,

Blacks supported the nation; but more importantly showed their exuberance and patriotism

because many of the industrial jobs were related directly to the war effort.

After the Great Migration, urban city centers sprawled in population. The lack of jobs,

---

[28] Kenneth S. Lynn, "Up From Gunnar Myrdal," *The American Spectator*, 21 December 2005, accessed at http://www.manhattan-institute.org/html/_amerspec-up_from.htm.

inequitable salaries, intense racial attitudes, and residential segregation created ghettos in the cities. In the Northern states, 88% of all blacks resided in cities, the vast majority in well-defined ghettos.[29] In these industrial cities, Blacks were often at the bottom of the occupation ladder. European immigrants filled positions requiring skilled labor. Initially, Blacks could not join White trade unions that monopolized the skilled jobs. These factors created the Black ghettos, the same environment many Blacks would try to escape. Author Maggie Morris discussed the plight of young Levi Hill. Hill "enlisted in the Army at a young age in order to escape the ghettos of Philadelphia. Gang wars and rough crowds were pulling him in, so he secured his family's permission to enlist. Hill saw the Army as an opportunity- an avenue to success."[30] The Great Depression, Great Migration, and the desire to escape the ghetto, were all economic factors that compelled Blacks to join the U.S. Army. Despite politics and economic desires, not all Blacks wanted to serve.

To remain objective, it is important to discuss there were a few Blacks who despised the war effort. Federal authorities arrested and imprisoned Elijah Muhammad (now leader of the Nation of Islam) for refusing to accept induction into the Army. Muhammad believed Blacks owed nothing to a nation that refused to treat Blacks as equal citizens. Malcolm Little (better known as Malcolm X) was part of a Zoot Suit following. In efforts to display opposition to the war effort, this group of individuals wore long baggy clothing "zoot suits" that required excess material, thinking it would impact on war industry efforts.

In the Social Domain, Black social interest groups and level of education played important roles in recruitment into U.S. Army. Groups such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), Congress of Racial Equality (C.O.R.E), and the

---

[29] Albert Camarillo, "Blacks and Hispanics in Urban America: Some Comparative Historical Perspectives," Stanford Center for Chicano Research, Stanford University, 1984, 7.

[30] Maggie Morehouse, *Fighting in the Jim Crow Army* (Lanham: Roman and Littlefield Publishers Inc., 2001), 21.

National Urban League (NUL) pushed to help recruit Blacks into the military. The NAACP, created in 1909 after a 1908 race riot in Springfield, Il. worked closely with Eleanor Roosevelt. First Lady Roosevelt was instrumental in helping the NAACP create defense related jobs for Blacks. The NUL (headed by Lester Granger) and C.O.R.E fought to eliminate racial segregation in the military.

In 1940, President Roosevelt signed the Selective Service Act, the start of the first peace time draft. Formerly called the Burke-Wadsworth Act, it called for all American males between twenty-one and thirty-five years of age to register for the draft. Draftees were called to service by age as opposed to lottery number.[31] The impact of the peace time draft on Blacks was significant. The draft was the first time the military put a quota on the number of recruits. The Act called for a ten percent quota of Blacks, but more importantly, the Act established a legal basis for segregation in the U.S. Army. Although the Act had a discrimination clause, the Army did not consider segregation discriminatory. The quota system was supposed to represent the actual population of Blacks in 1940. Political pressure, not military needs, established the quota system. According to United States census reports, there were 12,865,518 Blacks in the United States. This figure represents 9.8% of the total population (131,669, 275).[32] By December 1942, there were 399,454 Negroes in the Army, 7.4 percent of the total and 7.95 percent of all enlisted troops.[33]

The tension that existed between the White House and the U.S. Army was the recruitment of Blacks into normally White branches and services. The Engineer and Quartermaster Corps accounted for 25 and 15 percent of the Blacks respectively, to the dismay of Black activists.

---

[31] Heber A. Holbrook, "The Crisis Years: 1940 and 1941," The Pacific Ship and Shore Historical Review, 4 July 2001, 2. accessed at http://www.pacshiprev.com/PacificArchivesSubDirectory/page31.html.

[32] Race for the United States, Regions, Divisions, and States: 1940, U.S. Census Bureau, Table A-10, 21 December 2005, accessed at http://www.census.gov/population/documentation/twps0056/tabA-10.pdf.

[33] "Manpower and Readjustments" Table 10, Accessions of Enlisted Men By Source, Strength of the Army, 1 Jan 47, STM-30, p. 61, 21 December 2005, accessed at http://www.world-war-2-history.com/books/1/15/.

Sadly, the Infantry Branch accounted for only five percent of all Black recruits. The assignment of Blacks into various branches and services was purely racial, but the Army tried to cover up the fact by establishing an Army General Classification Test (AGCT). The AGCT measured a recruit's educational ability. Less than 100 years after slavery, the socioeconomic conditions Blacks faced resulted in much lower scores on the AGCT than their White counterparts. Referring to a memo published by the ACoS G-3 in 1943, Blacks represented only .4 percent of Category I soldiers and 49.2 percent of Category V.[34] The categories descended in order of educational ability. The Army used the test scores to distribute recruits to units. Blacks suffered heavily as they were assigned to the bulk of the unskilled jobs. One would assume the Army would assign educated Blacks to skilled positions; however, the Army assigned them to unskilled positions as well. The impact of the disproportionate assignment of Blacks to unskilled positions in service units had second and third order effects. Many Blacks, who served in unskilled positions, completed their tour of duty and faced the same discrimination in the civilian sector. Post war labor unions excluded Blacks thereby reducing many opportunities for Blacks to advance into skilled positions.

The Army lacked appropriate training resources to accommodate the influx of Blacks to specific units. The segregation issue only exacerbated the problem and created grave inefficiencies in the Army's utilization of manpower. The fact the Infantry Branch had only five percent Blacks is testimony to the racial preferences of the times. In today's Army, a soldier may achieve the same score on the Armed Services Vocational Aptitude Battery (ASVAB) to gain entrance to the Engineer Corps than the Infantry Branch.[35] After much opposition, the U.S.

---

[34] "World War II: The Army," Table 1 Classification of All Men Tested From March 1941 Through December 1943, Tab A, Memo, G-3 for CofS, 10 Apr 43, AG 201.2 (19 Mar 43) 22 December 2005, accessed at http://www.army.mil/cmh-pg/books/integration/IAF-02.htm.

[35] According to AR 611-21, MOS' 11B, 11C, 11H, 11M, 12B and 12C all require a minimum score of 90 in aptitude area CO (Combat). Area CO is made up of AR+CS+AS+MC (Arithmetic Reasoning (AR) + Coding Speed (CS) + Auto and Shop Information (AS) + Mechanical Comprehension (MC).

Army stood up the 92nd and 93rd Divisions, both commanded by White officers. The 93rd went on to prove its fighting worth. The 92nd was not as fortunate. The division suffered from low morale, training deficiencies, and severe racial prejudices. Author Ulysses Lee wrote: "Deficiencies in literate and skilled men might have been remedied by transfers of men from other regiments…the Ninety second division is bound to be a failure as a unit organization."[36] The 1940 Selective Service Act did little to correct to social injustices for Blacks. Despite this fact, Blacks persevered and demonstrated a high propensity to join the Army.

In examining Blacks propensity to serve during the World War II era, one must take into consideration the amount of Blacks willing to serve despite the ongoing draft. Historical data revealed the numbers of Blacks willing to join the U.S. Army far exceeded the amount they would take in. Donaldson wrote: "the military was forced to turn down more than half of those Blacks who registered for the service between 1941 and 1945."[37] During World War II, 418,227 Blacks served in the U.S. Army.[38] This figure represented the 10 percent force cap imposed on the Army by the government. Despite the segregated environment, many Blacks felt obliged to join the war effort.

By signing Executive Order 9981 on July 26, 1948, President Harry Truman ended segregation in the U.S. Army. Executive Order 9981 stated "there shall be equality of treatment and opportunity for all persons in the armed forces without regard to race, color, religion, or national origin."[39] By 1951, the Army's recruitment of Blacks reached 18%. By 1954, segregation officially ended with the disbandment of the last all Black units.

Ten years of escalating tension and the quest to contain Communism resulted in the

---

[36] Ulysses Lee, *The Employment of Negro Troops* (Washington D.C.: Center of Military History, 1994), 9.

[37] Donaldson, 112.

[38] Michael Adams, *The Best War Ever: America and World War II*, (Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1994), 83.

[39] President Harry Truman, Executive Order 9981, 22 December 2005, accessed at http://www.trumanlibrary.org/9981a.htm.

commitment of American forces to fight the North Vietnamese. The increase in troop strength to support operations in Vietnam affected Black enlistment as well. In 1969, the Selective Services implemented a lottery to enlist soldiers. The implications of establishing a lottery late in the war were as Author S.M. Kohn indicated, "they (Blacks) were in fact over represented, ... in the armed services ... drafted Blacks in ... at a rate almost twice as high as whites." [40] Civil rights leaders and other critics, including the formidable Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., described the Vietnam conflict as racist—"a White man's war, a Black man's fight."[41] Historians often attributed the disproportionate draft numbers to the lack of representation on state draft boards.

From a social perspective, Black sentiment for the war was unfavorable. Prominent figures such as Eldridge Cleaver, founder of the Black Panthers, and famous boxer Muhammad Ali opposed the war and spoke for many Blacks during this time. Cleaver suggested, "[the] government were (was) sending so many Black men away "to kill off the cream of Black youth."[42] There seemed to be a sense of sympathy for the Vietnamese among Blacks. The Vietnamese were non-White, and perceived as being oppressed by America, much like Black public sentiment in the 1960's. In his book *Dispatches*, Michael Herr expressed this sentiment as he quoted a Black soldier saying, "if he were to 'go firin' back, I might kill one a th' brothers."[43] Socially, Blacks did not accept the Vietnam War; however, there were economic implications that lessened Blacks propensity to serve during this time as well.

President Lyndon B Johnson assumed office in 1964 and continued to push President John F. Kennedy's Civil Rights initiatives. As the Vietnam War escalated, President Johnson redirected monies earmarked for economic improvement and reduction in poverty to the war effort. The shifting of monetary priority infuriated Black leaders as Blacks suffered more from

---

[40] S. M. Kohn, *Jailed For Peace* (London: Praeger, 1987), 80.
[41] David Coffey, "African Americans in the Vietnam War," 20 January 2006, accessed at http://www.english.uiuc.edu/maps/poets/s_z/stevens/africanamer.htm.
[42] Robert Mullen, *Blacks in America's War* (New York: Monad Press, 1974), 79.
[43] Michael Herr, *Dispatches* (London: Picador, 1988), 147.

poverty in the United States than any other racial group. Complementing Black dissatisfaction was the fact that the draft had a clause that allowed an educational deferment for college students. As long as an individual could prove they were in college and making satisfactory progress, they received a war deferment. Dr. Charles Moskos, a prominent military sociologist, stated, "support for the Vietnam War ended when it became possible for the elite to win draft deferments."[44] This clause proved to be unfair for Blacks as the enrollment of Blacks in institutions of higher learning was much less than their White counterparts. [45] It is important to note that concurrent with the Vietnam draft, the government still denied some Blacks in the South the right to vote.

Another issue that affected Blacks propensity to serve during the Vietnam era was Project 100,000. Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara initiated Project 100,000 as a social experiment and to help the nation fight the war on poverty. The experiment lowered the enlistment requirements for military service. Project 100,000 recruited over 250,000 soldiers, 40% were Black. According to figures in a study conducted by a group called Project 2019, only 4.7 percent of Blacks had college degrees in 1965.[46]

The historical portion of this monograph serves as a basis of comparing Black recruitment in the U.S. Army under the provisions of a draft. Even in the face of adversity and racial injustices, the most important aspect of the historical accounts was the high propensity for Blacks to serve in the military. This monograph seeks to identify why under improved racial conditions is there less propensity to serve than before? In answering this question, the author examines the Political, Economic, and Social aspects of the Black culture to ascertain the root cause of the propensity decline.

---

[44] David M. Halfinger and Steven A. Holmes, "Military Mirrors Working-Class America," *New York Times*, 30 March 2003, accessed at http://www.nytimes.com/2003/03/30/international/worldspecial/30DEMO.html?ex=1137042000&en=ef7c76519e7891c1&ei=5070.

[45] David Coffey, "African Americans in the Vietnam War," 20 January 2006, accessed at http://www.english.uiuc.edu/maps/poets/s_z/stevens/africanamer.htm.

[46] Project 2019, "Tracking the Goal of Educational Parity," 22 December 2005, accessed at http://www.project2019.com/sEduAttain.htm.

PMESII ANALYSIS

The Joint Forces Command defines the concept of Political, Military, Economic, Social, Infrastructure, and Information (PMESII) as "vulnerabilities identified by the Operational Net Assessment (ONA), researched as systems of systems networks that can be exploited by Effects Based Operations (EBO) to affect an adversary's war-fighting capability and will."[47] Although the author is not analyzing an adversary's warfighting capability, the Political, Economic, and Social domains of the PMESII framework are used to analyze Black culture in an attempt to determine what bearing, if any, the domains have on the propensity for Blacks to serve in the U.S. Army. Within the Political domain, the author will examine important political topics that potentially are catalysts for framing Black public opinion. The Economic domain will disprove recent accounts that a booming economy is pulling Blacks away from the military and suggest the economic impact of defense spending at the expense of crucial social programs possibly reinforce the declining propensity of Blacks to serve in the military. The Social domain examines the social environment, i.e., religion (church), civic organizations, familial ties, music, and media that also frame public opinion and potentially affects the propensity of Blacks to serve.

---

[47] Joint Forces Command Glossary, 23 January 2005, accessed at http://www.jfcom.mil/about/glossary.htm.

POLITICAL

War, therefore is an act of policy.[48]

Carl von Clausewitz

Political issues play an important role in the Black community and influence Blacks propensity to serve their country. The current Administration and its defense policies may be a contributing factor of the disproportionate decline in Black recruits in the U.S. Army. An influencer poll conducted in June 2005 asked, "do you approve or disapprove of the way the Bush administration is using U.S. Military forces?" Forty nine percent of all influencers approved of the Bush Administration's use of U.S. military force. Only 17 percent of Black influencers approved of the Bush Administrations' use of U.S. military force compared with 57 percent of White and 46 percent of Hispanic influencers.[49]

As already described earlier in the monograph, Black voters migrated to the Democratic Party in 1932 during President Roosevelt's candidacy. Since then, Blacks have traditionally aligned themselves with the Democratic Party. The 2000 election results reinforced this fact. Exit polls in 2000 reported that Black voters opted for Vice President Al Gore over Texas Governor George W. Bush by a ratio of more than 9-to-1.[50] Likewise, the 2004 Presidential election results highlighted the large imbalance among Black voters. Eighty eight percent of the Black vote went to the Democratic Party.

Eleven percent went to the Republican Party.[51] No other category of race demonstrated

---

[48] Carl von Clausewitz, *On War*, Michael Howard and Peter Paret, edit. and trans (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1976), 87.

[49] June 2005 Influencer Poll conducted by the Joint Advertising, Market Research and Studies, June 2005.

[50] Peter Roff, "Analysis: Wither the Black Vote in 2004?" *The Washington Times*, 20 January 2006, accessed from http://www.washtimes.com/upi-breaking/20041005-020953-7838r.htm.

[51] U.S. President National Exit Poll, 11 January 2005, accessed at http://www.cnn.com/ELECTION/2004/pages/results/states/US/P/00/epolls.0.html.

an imbalance of this magnitude. All other races, White, Asian, and Latino were evenly

distributed, i.e., 40- 50 percent to either party. The gross alignment of Blacks to the Democratic

Party may be due to its overwhelming concern for social programs vice defense spending, or

simply a pattern of reinforcement, engrained in the traditions of Black generations. If a person

grows up in a Democratic family, statistically speaking, the individual will continue to support

Democratic initiatives. Mayor Don McLaurin of Trotwood, Ohio stated, "most Blacks grow up

in a family where their parents are Democratic and it is so easy to follow the group rather than

think of what is in their best interests."[52]

Although a general statement, Blacks believe the Democratic Party has done more for

their race than any other. This is not to say the Republican Party has done nothing for Blacks or

that there are no Black Republicans, it merely suggests the perception amongst many Blacks that

the Democratic Party is more attuned to the issues that affect the Black population. The strong

alliance of Blacks with the Democratic Party may heighten their dissent of the current

Administration's foreign policy possibly affecting their propensity to join the military. The

dissent is then presented formally by such groups as the Congressional Black Caucus (CBC).

The (CBC), whose vision is to promote the public welfare through legislation designed to

meet the needs of millions of neglected citizens,[53] is comprised of 42 Black members of

Congress. Although several members of the Caucus supported the war, Chairman Elijah

Cummings stated in 2004:

> The Congressional Black Caucus has steadfastly opposed a unilateral first strike
> action by the United States without a clearly demonstrated and imminent threat
> of attack on the United States. It has always been the position of the
> Congressional Black Caucus that a unilateral first strike would undermine the
> moral authority of the United States, result in substantial loss of life, destabilize

---

[52] Gary Young, "End of the Rainbow: In 2000 the Republicans Paraded their Diversity. But Now the Party is Showing its True Color – White," 23 January 2005, accessed at http://www.commondreams.org/views04/0906-28.htm.
   [53] Congressional Black Caucus vision, 21 January 2005, accessed at http://www.cbcfinc.org/About/CBC/index.html.

the Mid-East region and undermine our nation's ability to address unmet domestic priorities.[54]

The CBC is a powerful influence in the Black community, a reckoned voice able to bring the sentiments and opinions of Blacks regarding the GWOT to the congressional body.

The GWOT started after September 11, 2001 in namesake only. There was an abundance of attempts to thwart terrorist activities prior to this date. It was during the current Republican administration that the GWOT increased in effort as a result of September 11th. With only four members of the CBC voting for the war, partisan politics was an indirect reason attributing to the decline of Blacks joining the U.S. Army. [55] Having already discussed the racial imbalance of the political parties, further examination of the perceived injustices of the 2000 election is appropriate.

The episodic events of the 2000 election incited an even greater frustration of Blacks toward the Republican Party.[56] Many people, Blacks in particular, felt as if the election was "stolen" from the Democratic Party, and at the expense of the Black vote in Florida. According to a poll conducted in 2004:

The final 2000 results are still being questioned by almost all (Black) voters: 85 percent say that George W. Bush did not legitimately win the Presidency in 2000. This belief is far more widespread than among Whites: asked in March of this year (2004), 32 percent of Whites say that

---

[54]Glen Ford and Peter Gamble, "Three Who See the War Clearly," 18 January 2006, accessed at http://www.sfbayview.com/113005/threewhosee.shtml.

[55]CBC members who voted for the war in Iraq include: Harold Ford, Jr. (Tennessee), William Jefferson (Louisiana), Albert Wynn (Maryland) and Sanford Bishop (Georgia).

[56] In November 2000, George W. Bush (Republican) and Al Gore (Democrat) ran as their respective party's primary candidate for President of the United States. In a very close race, the Presidential nomination came down to the state of Florida. Disputes among the number of votes counted would result in a manual recount, and ultimately a case (Bush v/s Gore) in the U.S. Supreme Court. The Supreme Court decided in President Bush's favor to reject the recounting of ballots in certain counties. Appeals made by Al Gore were denied, and ultimately George W. Bush became the 43rd President of the United States. There were wide spread stories of voter fraud, and miscounted votes, especially in densely Black populated counties.

Bush did not win legitimately.[57]

Many Blacks believed that the 2000 elections represented yet another battle in the long fight for social justice and racial equality. The 2000 elections possibly became the impetus and basis of objections many Blacks have for the current Administration. This objection translates into non-support of the Administration's defense policies, thereby likely impacting a Black's decision to join the U.S. Army. Noted sociologist Charles Moskos suggested "the drop-off began even before the Iraq war, with the election of President George W. Bush in 2000 in the face of overwhelming Black antipathy, an attitude that lingers to this day.[58]

Other domestic policy issues such as affirmative action, tax cuts, judicial appointments, and a reduction in funding for various social programs possibly increase the antipathy of Blacks toward the President. Columnist Earl Ofari Hutchinson wrote:

It's also <u>assumed</u> that since most blacks are Democrats, and assail Bush's domestic agenda as anti-black, this automatically translates into opposition to "Bush's war." Many blacks do revile Bush for his attack on affirmative action, his conservative judicial appointments, his refusal to expand hate crimes legislation, support of school vouchers, meat-axe tax cuts, and the slash and burn of social programs.[59]

Partisan politics obviously plays a role in the propensity of Blacks to serve in the U.S. Army.

---

[57] B.E.T/CBS News Poll "African Americans and the 2004 Vote," 6-15 July 2004, accessed at http://www.cbsnews.com/stories/2004/07/21/opinion/polls/main630986.shtml. Interviews were conducted among 986 African American adults by telephone. Interviews were conducted from July 6-15, 2004, by CBS News on behalf of BET. These respondents were part of nationwide representative samples identified in households previously interviewed by CBS News Polls.
[58] "U.S. Military Sees Sharp Fall In Black Recruits, 18 December 2004, accessed at http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/main.jhtml?xml=/news/2004/12/18/wus18.xml.
[59] Earl Ofari Hutchinson, "Not All Blacks Say "No" To Iraq War," 21 January 2006, accessed at http://www.thehutchinsonreport.com/040403feature.html.

ECONOMIC

I was born in Harlem, raised in the South Bronx, went to public school, got out of public college, went into the Army, and then I just stuck with it.

General (Ret.) Colin Powell

Not unlike politics, the economics of Black communities are a factor regarding the propensity for Blacks to join the U.S. Army. When analyzing the economic variable of the propensity for Blacks to serve, many writers on the subject tout a booming economy as a cause for the decline. For example, Christopher Cooper, columnist for the *Wall Street Journal* stated, "such dips (Black enlistment) comes when the economy is booming and high school graduates have more employment options."[60] Although there has been an improvement in the U.S. economy overall, the Black economic situation has not improved. A poll conducted by the Black America's Political Action Committee showed 61 percent of the polled population thought the economy was becoming increasingly unstable.[61] To demonstrate the recent economic situation facing Blacks in the United States, this section examines such economic factors as U.S. labor markets, median household incomes, and the perception amongst many Blacks that government funding for the GWOT directly impacts much needed funding in the urban community, to determine the relative impact on Blacks as a subgroup of the U.S. economy.

The most formidable source for labor market statistics is the U.S. Department of Labor. The national unemployment rate as of November 2005 is five percent. This current rate is up one percent from FY 2000, and peaked to 6.3 percent in 2003.[62] A closer demographic look reveals that the unemployment rate for Blacks has consistently risen from FY 2000. As of November

---

[60] Christopher Cooper, "Army Losing African Americans," *Wall Street Journal*, 11 October 2004, accessed at http://olm.blythe-systems.com/pipermail/nytr/Week-of-Mon-20041011/007473.html.

[61] Black America's Political Action Committee (BAMPAC), 2004 National Survey of Registered Voters. Wilson Researchers conducted the poll for BAMPAC from 30 June- 4 July 2004. 800 Blacks were surveyed. Margin of error: 3.5 percent.

[62] U.S. Department of Labor Bureau of Labor Statistics, Labor Force Statistics from the Current Population, 28 December 2005, accessed at http://data.bls.gov/PDQ/servlet/SurveyOutputServlet?data_tool=latest_numbers&series_id=LNS14000000.

2005, the rate is 10.6 percent, up from 7.3 percent in November 2000.[63] Similar to the rising

unemployment rate, the median household income for Blacks has not increased significantly,

compared to other races. In 2000, the median household income for Blacks was $29,667. By

2004, the median income marginally increased to $30,124, a change of 1.5 percent.[64] This

percentage pales in comparison to the overall population median household figures. In 2000, the

total population median household income was $41,990. By 2004, the figure jumped to $44,389,

a 5.71 percent increase. The purpose of identifying such economic indicators such as

unemployment rates and median household income are to refute the common belief that an upturn

in the economy over the last five years has reduced the propensity of Blacks to join the military.

The economy is improving as a whole, but not for everyone, and not at the same rate.

Many Blacks do not support ongoing military operations in Iraq because of the perceived

reallocation of U.S. dollars away from communities to support the war. A Black resident from

Pennsylvania echoed a strong sentiment among many Blacks, "We have war going on in our

neighborhoods…We have war going on in our schools."[65] Increases in defense spending often

equate the cancellation of many urban oriented projects. As reported in the *Washington Post*,

"President Bush today unveiled a $2.57 trillion budget that eliminates dozens of politically

sensitive domestic programs, including funding for education, environmental protection and

business development, while proposing significant increases for the military and international

spending."[66] The budget cuts would disproportionately affect Blacks, who comprise the bulk of

low income citizens in two particular Federal Agencies, the Department of Housing and Urban

Development (HUD), and the Department of Education.

---

[63] U.S. Department of Labor Bureau of Labor Statistics, Labor Force Statistics from the Current Population, 28 December 2005, accessed at http://data.bls.gov/cgi-bin/surveymost.

[64] Historical Income Tables – Households, U.S. Census Bureau, 11 January 2006, accessed at http://www.census.gov/hhes/www/income/histinc/h05.html.

[65] "Iraq War Shows Up Divide Between White and Black in US," 7 April 2003, accessed at http://www.smh.com.au/articles/2003/04/06/1049567570237.html.

[66] Brian Faler, "2006 Budget Proposal: Agency Breakdown," 7 February 2005, accessed at http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/politics/interactives/budget06/budget06Agencies.html.

HUD's strategic framework supports three pillars: increase home ownership opportunities, promote decent, affordable housing, and strengthen communities.[67] In a projected 3.7 billion dollar budget cut, the "the Administration's proposal, which must be approved by Congress, would also cut a number of other programs that provide housing assistance to low-income Americans."[68] The Department of Education seeks to ensure equal access to education and to promote educational excellence throughout the nation.[69] A budget cut to this department would be the first in a decade. The proposed budget would eliminate the Perkins loan program, which provides low-interest loans to low and middle-income college students.[70] The current economic situation for Blacks suggests the downward trend in Black recruitment is not due to a booming economy (for Blacks). Given, the figures mentioned, Blacks theoretically would be more inclined to join the military. The perception that programs, which are key to lower income individuals, are in jeopardy, potentially bears on the propensity of Blacks to join the military.

---

[67] HUD Strategic Plan, FY 2003- FY 2008, U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, March 2003, accessed at http://www.hud.gov/offices/cfo/reports/03strategic.pdf.
[68] Ibid.
[69] U.S. Department of Education Overview, 11 January 2005, accessed at http://www.ed.gov/about/landing.jhtml?src=gu.
[70]Faler.

SOCIAL

The U.S. Army is a values-based institution. We live every single day by our seven Army values: loyalty, duty, respect, selfless service, honor, integrity, and personal courage.
<div align="right">Major General Michael Rochelle, U.S. Army</div>

Within the PMESII model, the Social domain is the least tangible, most subjective, and potentially most influential factor affecting young Blacks' propensity to join the military. For the purpose of examining Black culture, the monograph describes the Social domain as the environment that shapes Blacks' lives, which includes religion (church), civic organizations, familial ties, music, and media. These external influences promulgate the everyday lives of all races. To specifically look at the Black culture, this section examines the prominent influencers that may help determine the propensity of a young Black American to serve in the military. Church, civic organizations, family (parents), and the hip hop culture work to form a general theme in the Black community, one seemingly not supportive of the GWOT. A discussion on recent U.S. Army Recruiting Command (USAREC) initiatives targeted directly at minorities follows.

Religion remains a mainstay in Black culture. Ideally, religion should create a unifying force amongst all races and ethnic groups. To the contrary, social scientists have long noted that in a manner of speaking, "Sunday morning service is the most segregated hour in America."[71] According to key findings of religious demographics in the United States, Black Americans are least likely to describe themselves as secular.[72] Forty nine percent of Blacks when asked about their outlook described themselves as "somewhat religious."[73] The City University of New York Graduate Center conducted a study of religious groups by race. Blacks primarily are Jehovah's

---

[71] American Religious Identification Survey, The Graduate Center, The City University of New York, 21 January 2006, accessed at http://www.gc.cuny.edu/faculty/research_briefs/aris/key_findings.htm.

[72] Demographics of the United States, 21 January 2006, accessed at http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Demographics_of_the_United_States#Religious_affiliation.

[73] American Religious Identification Survey, The Graduate Center, The City University of New York, 21 January 2006, accessed at http://www.gc.cuny.edu/faculty/research_briefs/aris/key_findings.htm.

Witness (37%), Baptist (29%) or Muslim (27%), with other religions in smaller proportion.[74]

While these figures reflect individuals, the percentages are reflective of larger social

organizations, ones that carry a deep rooted anti-war sentiment. The Rainbow/PUSH Coalition

and Southern Christian Leadership Coalition (SCLC) are large Black religious affiliated

organizations with great influence in the Black community. The causal linkage between the large

religious groups and the individuals is the ministerial position of pastor, reverend, minister, or

preacher. Often, this position is both at the head of a congregation (of individuals) and active

member in the larger national organization. The strong anti-war message of the larger

organization transcends the local church to the congregation of individuals. This dynamic

potentially influences decisions of Black youth whether or not to join the military.

The Rainbow/PUSH Coalition founded by Reverend Jessie Jackson Sr. considers itself a

progressive organization fighting for social change.[75] Reverend Jackson is a very prominent,

influential figure head in the Black voice of America. According to a 2004 Black America's

Political Action Committee (BAMPAC) poll, 27 percent of respondents felt Jackson was the most

influential Black political figure in the Unites States, only second to General (Ret.) Colin

Powell.[76] The powerful message of Reverend Jackson's speeches resonates throughout America,

but particularly in the urban, inner-city environment. On March 15, 2003, Reverend Jackson

delivered a speech to a group of anti-war protesters. Reverend Jackson stated:

> If we invade Iraq, kill its people, occupy its land, destabilize the region – it is a
> war crime… Saddam was wrong to invade Kuwait, to kill and to occupy. We
> cannot follow his (President Bush's) leadership example. There is a morally
> superior way to resolve conflict. That's why we choose coexistence over co-
> annihilation. Because we want to stop a war before it starts. Today, we appeal to

---

[74] Race and Ethnicity Among Selected Religious Groups, Graduate Center, The City University of New York, 21 January 2006, accessed at http://www.gc.cuny.edu/faculty/research_briefs/aris/key_findings.htm.
    [75] The Rainbow Push Coalition, 21 January 2005, accessed at http://www.rainbowpush.org/about/index.html.
    [76] Black America's Political Action Committee (BAMPAC), 2004 National Survey of Registered Voters. Wilson Researchers conducted the poll for BAMPAC from 30 June- 4 July 2004. 800 Blacks were surveyed. Margin of error: 3.5 percent.

the world: choose life over death. Hope and healing over hurt and hostility. Reconciliation, not intimidation. [77]

The Rainbow Coalition's affiliation with local churches and anti-war rhetoric delivers a powerful message to the Black community, one the author feels influences the propensity of Blacks to serve in the military.

Much like the Rainbow Coalition, the Southern Christian Leadership Coalition (SCLC) is a nonprofit, non-sectarian, inter-faith, advocacy organization that is committed to non-violent action to achieve social, economic, and political justice.78 A national organization, the SCLC is made up of chapters and affiliates located across the United States.79 In a speech given August 25, 2005 near President Bush's ranch, SCLC's co-founder Reverend Joseph Lowery stated, "The war is over, now it is time for [President] Bush to come to that understanding and bring the troops home."[80] In an interview following the speech, Reverend Lowery metaphorically stated:

> Well, you know, when America has a bad cold, communities of color have pneumonia. And it is affecting us in many, many ways. It's a poor man's war. I said earlier that there is something wrong about the children of the poor and the moderate risking their lives and dying, while the children of the wealthy and the elite are safe in their cozy, comfortable environment. Something wrong with that, and either we ought to – well, we ought to end the war.[81]

Listed as two of 100 most influential Black Americans,[82] Reverends Jackson and Lowery help shape perception of the Black community from a religious perspective. Other Black organizations deliver similar themes, but in a secular realm. The NAACP is another major

---

[77] Reverend Jesse L. Jackson, Sr., "Anti-War Demonstrators to Keep Marching; Pre-emptive Attack on Iraq a War Crime," Speech delivered to anti-war protesters on 15 March 2003, Los Angeles, California,

[78] Mission of Southern Christian Leadership Coalition, 21 January 2006, accessed at http://www.sclcnational.org/nonprofit/sclc/.

[79] Southern Christian Leadership Coalition, 21 January 2006, accessed at http://www.sclcnational.org/net/content/item.aspx?s=3045.0.12.2607.

[80] Reverend Joseph Lowery, speech given to anti-war demonstrators on 25 August 2005, accessed at http://www.troopsoutnow.org/campcasey.html.

[81] Reverend Joseph Lowery interview with Democracy Now, 25 August 2005, accessed from http://www.democracynow.org/article.pl?sid=05/08/23/1321222.

[82] "The 100 most influential Black Americans," *Ebony Magazine*, May 1989, accessed at http://www.findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_m1077/is_n7_v44/ai_7569425.

predominantly Black organization that continues to lobby for the interest of Black America and publicly opposed to the GWOT.

The NAACP's former president (CEO) and current candidate for the U.S. Senate, Kweisi Mfume expressed his concerns about the current war effort. Mfume stated:

The war in Iraq remains a grave political tragedy that has little if anything to do with finding the perpetrators of the 9-11 attacks on this nation. Thousands of troops and billions of dollars have been committed to fight a war that was based at best on questionable premises and misleading statements. Twice in the last six months, <u>I stood with other concerned Americans in protest of the ongoing war in Iraq</u> and in support of families whose sons and daughters have been killed and severely wounded there and in Afghanistan.[83]

In contrast, during a 2002 NAACP Annual Convention Address, Mfume stated:

It is true, as we all know that our nation is at war. For ten years as a member of Congress, I took an oath at the beginning of every session to protect and defend the constitution of the United States against all enemies, foreign and domestic. Like many, I subscribed to the notion that all politics stopped at the water's edge. Like many, <u>I have supported this President's efforts overseas to root out terrorism and terrorist activity</u>. But you cannot buy my silence or the silence of the NAACP on issues of oversight that if not kept in balance have the potential to hurt American workers and destabilize American economy.[84]

Mfume's quotes suggest an increasing disagreement with the Administration's war effort. It seems to reinforce the same sense of neutrality found in the high school survey discussed in the next chapter and influencer polls. More Blacks were at least neutral to operations in OEF as opposed to operations in OIF.

In addition to Reverend Jackson, Reverend Lowery, and Kweisi Mfume, another prominent Black figure Julian Bond stated at the 96th Annual NAACP Convention:

---

[83] Kweisi Mfume, "Mfume: War in Iraq Teaches Key Lesson at Home – We Need to Get Out," 8 January 2006, accessed at http://www.afterdowningstreet.org/?q=node/6567.
[84] Kweisi Mfume, 2002 NAACP Annual Convention Address, 8 July 2002, Houston, Texas, accessed at http://www.mindfully.org/Reform/2002/NAACP-Mfume-Convention-Address8jul02.htm.

Making democracy safe for America's minorities is as important as making the world safe for democracy. We want elections in foreign lands to be free and fair, and we expect no less of the United States. The NAACP has always been non-partisan, but that doesn't mean we're non-critical. And it doesn't mean we're non compos mentis. We don't oppose political parties; we never have. We oppose wrongful policies. The NAACP opposed going to war in Iraq. How right we were![85]

The deep sentiment by such prominent Black spokesmen against the GWOT has an impact on the decisions of young Blacks to join the military. The messages these individuals and the organizations in which they belong are very influential, drive discussion, and shape perceptions of many Black Americans. The issue of supporting the GWOT is intensified when political and economic implications are espoused through social organizations. Not unlike the many Black organizations publicly voicing their dissent for the war, the hip hop community also does not support the war. The hip hop community may be the most influential social outlet possibly affecting the decisions of young Blacks decision to join the military.

Hip hop is popular urban youth culture, closely associated with rap music and with the style and fashions of Black inner-city residents.[86] Anti-war sentiment and the discouragement of Blacks to join the military run rampant throughout the hip hop community. Such venues as the National Political Hip Hop Convention held at Rutgers University June 16-19, 2004 in Newark New Jersey, and the traveling show, Hip-Hop Summit Action Network (HSAN), inspire young hip hop fans to become active in their communities. During the Millions More Movement, Reverend Lennox Yearwood, CEO of Hip Hop Caucus and Progressive Democrats of America (PDA) Advisory Board Member, stated in his speech:

The Black community has an important role to play in the task of peacemaking in countering this unjust war, despite the fact that Blacks are most often merely the victims of white violence, and thus not highly visible in antiwar protests… The Hip Hop community must be at the forefront of the antiwar movement, because it

---

[85] Julian Bond, speech given to 96th Annual NAACP Convention, 10 July 2005, accessed at http://64.233.167.104/search?q=cache:l6B3fFE_m0cJ:www.naacp.org/news/2005/2005-07-10.html+Bruce+Gordon+NAACP+War+Iraq+Bush&hl=en.

[86] Hip Hop definition, 21 January 2006, accessed at http://www.thefreedictionary.com/hip-hop.

is the poor people of this country and the people of color who are fighting this unjust war.[87]

Peace was a major issue during the Millions More March. According to its website, March organizers called for the establishment of peace in the world. "We demand an end to wars of foreign aggression waged by the United States Government against other sovereign nations and peoples."[88] The hip hop culture presents itself as a grassroots force engaging in both social and political activism. The anti-war sentiment among the hip hop community may sound isolated, but the forces espoused through marches, music videos, radio, and television impact young Blacks' decision to join the military. Along with the Hip Hop community but possibly more powerful, are parents, coaches and mentors.

Former USAREC Commander MG Rochelle stated, "clearly the propensity of Black youth to enlist is impacted by the war and increasingly by views of parents, teachers, coaches, clergy and other influencers."[89] Colonel Thomas Nickerson, Director of Strategic Outreach for the U.S. Army Accessions Command stated, "when young adults are making the decision to join the Army, there is no one they seek approval from more than their parents."[90] Terry Neal, staff writer for *The Washington Post*, stated:

When you dig deeper into the reason for this phenomenon, it turns out that parents of potential soldiers and sailors are becoming one of the biggest obstacles facing military recruiters. Even top military officials acknowledge this and unveiled a new series of ads this spring targeted

---

[87] Reverend Lennox Yearwood, speech given to Millions More March, 14 October 2005, Washington D.C., accessed at http://www.pdamerica.org/articles/news/yearwood-million-more.php. The Millions More March was the 10th anniversary of the Million Man March.

[88] Millions More March, 21 January 2005, accessed at http://www.millionmanmarch.org/about.htm.

[89] Tom Philpott, "Number of Black Army Recruits Declining," The *North County Times*, 18 January 2006, accessed at http://www.nctimes.com/articles/2005/03/05/news/columnists/philpott/3405184934.txt.

[90] Leo Burnett, "U.S. Army Reaches Influencers with Four New Commercials, Latest Effort Encourages Parents of Future Soldiers to 'Help Them Find Their Strength' as 'An Army of One,'" 18 April 2005, accessed at http://www.leoburnett.com/news/press_releases/2005/prapr18-94431.asp.

at "influencers" such as parents, teachers and coaches.[91]

However, research suggests Black influencers on average are less inclined to agree with the war effort. Given the Black influencer's position of authority, young Blacks may be less inclined to join the military. Figure 2 illustrates the disparity between Black influencers and influencers as a whole, according to a survey conducted by the Department of Defense.[92]

	Total influencers	Black Influencers only	Remarks
Q1: How would you rate the military? (scale 1-10)	7.6	6.6	
Q2: Do you support or oppose U.S. Military troops being in Iraq?	57 percent support	24 percent support	63 percent of Whites support; 58 percent of Hispanics support
Q3: Do you approve or disapprove of the way the Bush administration is using U.S. Military forces?	49 percent approve	17 percent approve	57 percent of Whites approve; 46 percent of Hispanics approve
Q4: Do you approve or disapprove of the way the Bush administration is handling foreign affairs?	47 percent approve	16 percent approve	55 percent of Whites approve; 43 percent of Hispanics approve
Q5: Likelihood to recommend military due to war on terrorism.	52 percent less likely	74 percent less likely	48 percent of Whites less likely, 50 percent of Hispanics less likely

Figure 2-Influencer Poll

The most relevant question posed to the influencers concerned their likelihood to recommend military service due to the GWOT. Given the results of the poll and the disparity between the answers of Black influencers compared to the rest, their negative perceptions toward the GWOT transcend to their youth and negatively impact the decision of young Blacks to join the military. The U.S. Army acknowledges the powerful role influencers play and has launched

---

[91] Terry Neal, "Military's Recruiting Troubles Extend to Affluent War Supporters," *The Washington Post*, 22 August 2005, accessed at http://peaceandjustice.org/article.php?story=20050823124721473&mode=print0.
[92] June 2005 Influencer Poll conducted by the Joint Advertising, Market Research and Studies, June 2005.

targeted advertising campaigns to counter this effect.

As part of its recruiting campaign, the U.S. Army used various forms of media to encourage today's youth to join. Radio spots on Black stations, billboard signs in predominantly Black neighborhoods, and television commercials on such stations as Black Entertainment Television (BET), combine to present a positive image of the U.S. Army to Black youth. These more traditional approaches have been around quite some time, but in the wake of the disproportionate decline of Black recruits, the U.S. Army became more creative. Already considered strong social influences, the U.S. Army targeted the aforementioned hip hop community and Black parents in efforts to win their appeal.

In 2003, the U.S. Army partnered with a Black owned advertising firm Viral Marketing Group to launch an advertising campaign called "Taking it to the Streets."[93] Whitney Joiner, columnist for Salon Media Group, wrote:

Three times a week, 48 weeks a year, a four-man team drives a huge yellow Hummer to a different location. It might be a college or high school campus, a major fraternity gathering, an NAACP event, MTV's Spring Break, or (Black Entertainment Television) BET's Spring Bling: If lots of Black teens will be there, the Hummer wants to be there, too.[94]

The appeal of the Hummer amongst the hip hop community, and the venues at which the vehicle appears, supports the notion the U.S. Army has recognized the powerful social force the hip hop community imposes on Black youth. As an example, the hip hop Hummer has a camouflage pattern and the Hispanic version has flames and "Yo Soy El Army" spray painted on the sides to target the Hispanic community. Colonel Thomas Nickerson, Director of Strategic Outreach for the U.S. Army Accessions Command, stated:

---

[93] Ed Morales, "Military Luring Black and Latino Youth With Hip-Hop," 18 January 2006, accessed at http://www.hiphopconvention.org/issues/opinion/luring.cfm.
[94] Whitney Joiner, "The Army Be Thuggin' it," 17 October 2003, accessed at http://archive.salon.com/mwt/feature/2003/10/17/army/index_np.html.

You have to go where the target audience is…Our research tells us that hip-hop and urban culture is a powerful influence in the lives of young Americans. We try to develop a bond with that audience. I want them to say, 'Hey, the Army was here -- the Army is cool![95]

Along with "Taking it to the Streets," the U.S. Army used television, another extremely powerful form of media, to target Black influencers.

The U.S. Army ran a unique television commercial which seemingly responded to several answers given by Black influencers. The commercial entitled "Dinner Conversation" portrayed a Black mother and son discussing the subject of joining the U.S. Army. The ad ends with the audience perceiving the mother's approval of the son's intentions. The ad is not targeted at Black youth, but Black parents, as if to say, "let go, it is all right to let your child join the U.S. Army." Ray DeThorne, Executive Vice President/Account Director at Leo Burnett USA stated, "so often, parents see service in the Army as an option for someone else's kids. In these spots, we capture the Army as an honorable career for people's own children, while also capturing the many different forms of strength gained in the U.S. Army."[96] Likewise, U.S. Army spokeswoman, Major Elizabeth Robbins stated, "Clearly it (the ad) was to talk to influencers…studies have shown that today's young people yearn to serve their country in one way or another. The problem is that today the people who influence their decisions are less likely than they were in past generations to recommend [military service]."[97] Although the author is not convinced today's youth yearn to serve their country, the author agrees influencers are less likely to recommend military service.

The "Take it to the Streets" and "Dinner Conversation" campaigns may effectively target

[95] Ibid.

[96]"U.S. Army Reaches Influencers with Four New Commercials: Latest Effort Encourages Parents of Future Soldiers to 'Help Them Find Their Strength' as 'An Army of One,'" 18 April 2005, accessed at http://www.leoburnett.com/news/press_releases/2005/prapr18-94431.asp.

[97] Terry Neal, "Military's Recruiting Troubles Extend to Affluent War Supporters," *The Washington Post*, 22 August 2005, accessed at http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2005/08/19/AR2005081900815_pf.html.

Blacks but there is wide disapproval amongst many parents of the U.S. Army's recruiting efforts. Section 9528 of the 2002 No Child Left Behind Act stated: each local educational agency receiving assistance under this Act shall provide, on a request made by military recruiters or an institution of higher education, access to secondary school students names, addresses, and telephone listings.[98] Parents may request the information not be released without prior consent. At one New Jersey high school, 90 percent of the parents opted not to release their child's information to recruiters.[99]

The Social domain provides critical insights into Black culture through the lenses of religion, civic organizations, music, and familial ties. Powerful, prominent Black leaders such as Reverend Jesse Jackson, Reverend Joseph Lowery and Kweisi Mfume present formidable cases against the GWOT and help shape the perceptions of young Blacks. The hip hop community, another powerful voice in the Black community displays a unified front against the GWOT. The percentage of Black influencers against the war suggests their dissent has also adversely impacted young Blacks' propensity to join the military. As with the Political domain, the major anti-war theme of the Social domain has worked to decrease the enlistment rates of Blacks joining the U.S. Army. To test the conclusions of the political, economic and social analyses, the author designed and conducted a high school survey in the local community. The next section discusses the results of this survey.

---

[98] No Child Left Behind Act, Section 9528, 18 January 2006, accessed at
http://www.ed.gov/policy/elsec/leg/esea02/pg112.html.

[99] Lillian M. Aleman, "Parents Say 'No' To Military Recruiters: 90 Percent of MHS Parents Don't Want Student Records Released," 27 January 2005, accessed at
http://www.montclairtimes.com/page.php?page=9016.

HIGH SCHOOL SURVEY

In an attempt to add validity to the monograph's thesis, the author conducted a survey of Black local seniors at Leavenworth and Lansing High Schools to determine if there was decreased propensity to serve and the reasons why. Of note, the high schools are located near Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, and are the only two public schools available for children of Fort Leavenworth soldiers. Seventy seven percent of the students surveyed stated their parents had served in the military at some point. An expanded survey region to include high schools not near a military post may change the results of the survey.

The survey was completely voluntary and anonymous. In keeping with the scope and scale of the paper, the author solicited responses only from Black high school seniors.[100] The author collected 39 surveys total, 5 from Lansing High School (only 5 Black seniors), and 34 from Leavenworth High School. Although the sample size seems small, it represents the preponderance of Black seniors in the local community. See Appendix A for a copy of the survey.

The author considered the question, "How likely are you to join the military after high school graduation?" the most important question on the survey. Chart A shows 59 percent of the students said they definitely would not serve, 13 percent said they probably will not serve, 13 percent were undecided, .5 percent stated they probably would serve, and 10 percent stated they definitely would serve. Not reflected on the chart is the fact that 28 percent of the students who stated they either definitely or probably would not serve provided specific comments concerning the war in Iraq. These figures reinforce the disproportionate decline of Blacks to join the U.S. Army.

---

[100] A more expanded study warrants the inclusion of Black sophomores and juniors. Also anyone wishing to conduct further research on this topic should expand their survey population to include high schools not located near military installations.
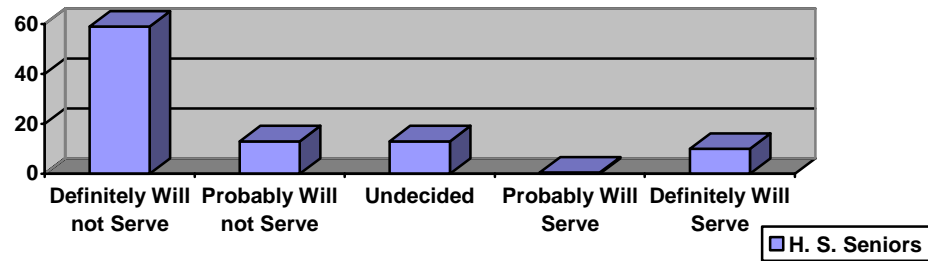
Chart A: Propensity to Serve

Chart B shows that despite the relatively high percentage of respondents not willing to join the military, 74 percent either strongly agree or agreed the military is a good place to earn money for college. Only .5 percent strongly disagreed, with the remainder of respondents being neutral. The numbers demonstrates that, despite the known educational benefits, the preponderance of Black senior high school students are not willing to join the military.
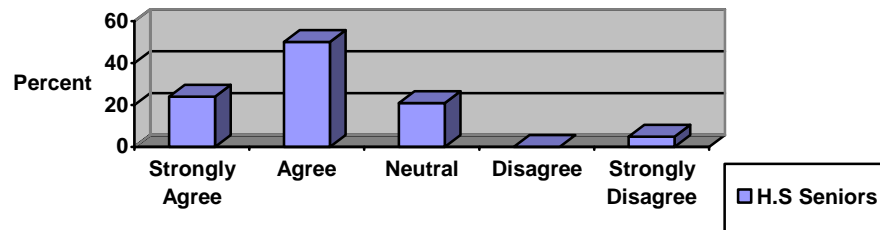

Chart B: The Military is a Good Place to Earn Money for College

In order to determine to what extent political preference correlated with propensity to serve, the author first asked the political preference of respondents and then compared the answers to the likelihood of serving in the military after high school. According to Chart C, 41 percent of the students surveyed considered themselves strongly Democratic, 21 percent considered themselves mildly Democratic, 24 percent undecided, and 8 percent combined to make up mildly/strongly Republican.
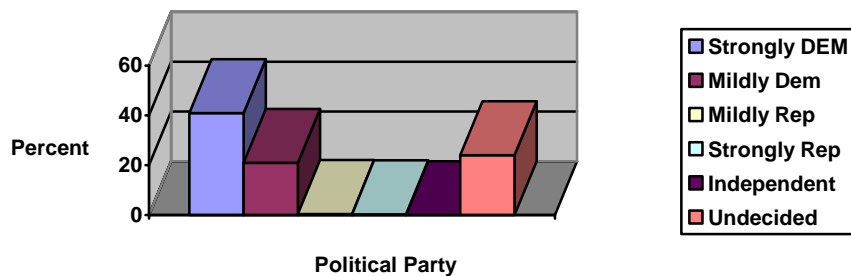
Chart C: Political Preference

Given the political preferences, the author compared these results to the propensity to serve. Chart D shows most students who consider themselves either strongly or mildly Democratic also stated they definitely will not serve. The 100 percent figures for strongly and mildly Republican reflect very small population sizes as shown in Chart C above.
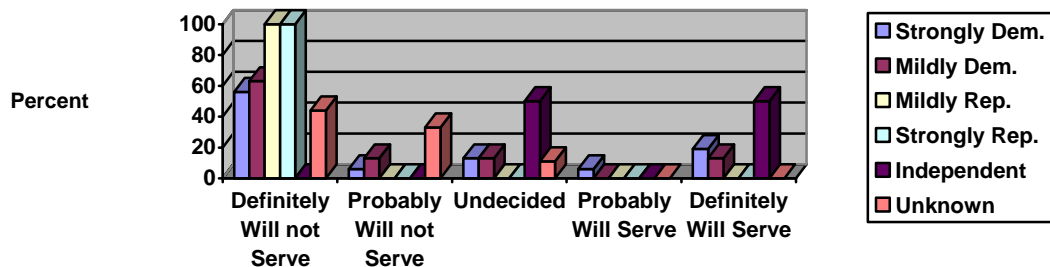

Chart D: Propensity to Serve by Political Preference

After determining a correlation between political preference and propensity to serve, the author then asked the students their opinion on President Bush's decision to send troops to Iraq. Chart E shows that 18 percent strongly disagreed with President Bush sending troops to Iraq, 26 percent disagreed, 37 percent remained neutral, 13 percent agreed, and 3 percent strongly agreed.
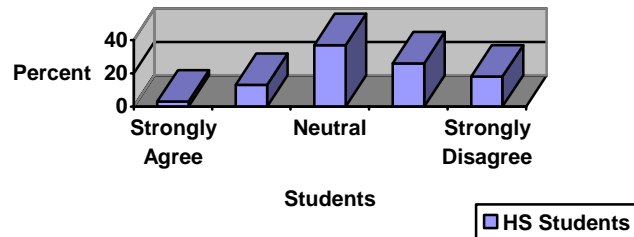
Chart E: Do You Agree with President Bush Sending Troops to Iraq?

Chart F compares the students' sentiments of President Bush's decision sending troops to Iraq to their political preference. The majority of mildly Republican, mildly Democratic and Independent students disagree with President Bush sending troops to Iraq. Compared with results from the political section, Chart F does not display a high correlation between political preference and President Bush sending troops to Iraq. Students, who considered themselves strongly Democratic, equally agreed and disagreed. Also, just as many strongly Democratic students are neutral about sending troops to Iraq as they strongly disagree.
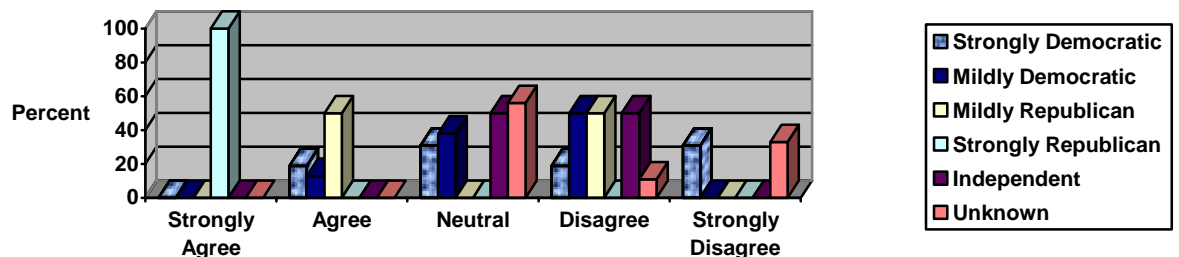

Chart F: Sending Troops to Iraq by Political Preference

To see if the student's sentiments differed between OIF and OEF, the author posed the question, "Do you agree with President Bush sending troops to Afghanistan in support of the GWOT?" Chart G shows that five percent of students strongly agreed, 13 percent agreed, 47 percent remained neutral, 18 percent disagreed and 16 percent strongly disagreed. The numbers

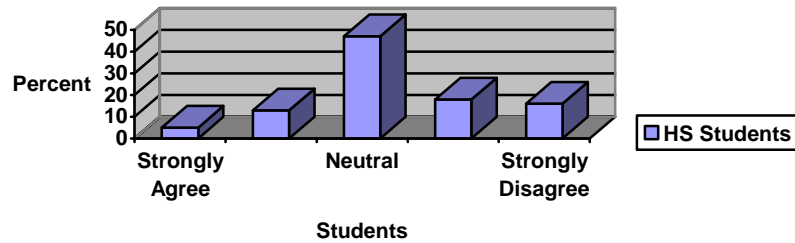suggest a more neutral position concerning OEF compared to OIF.

Chart G: Do You Agree with President Bush Sending Troops to Afghanistan?

The author then compared political preferences to feelings of sending troops to Afghanistan

(OEF). Chart H shows that compared with political preference chart for Iraq, there appears to be
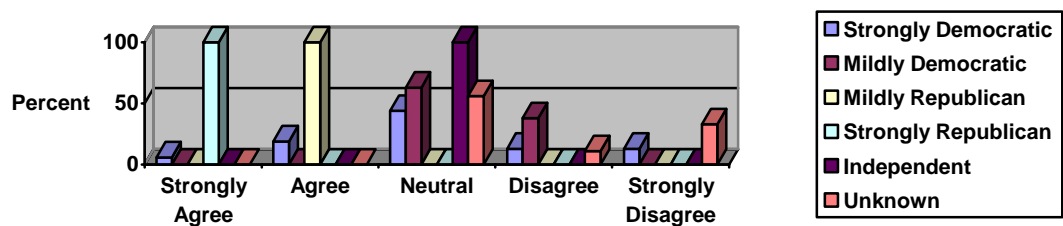
more neutrality regarding OEF.

Chart H: Sending Troops to Afghanistan by Political Preference

To see if parent's education levels and household income affected propensity to serve, the

author requested the students fill in the appropriate education and income levels. Chart I shows

that five percent of the student's parents made between 0-$25,000, 15 percent between $25,000-

$50,000, 31 percent between $50,000-$75,000, 21 percent between $75,00-$100,000, 15 percent

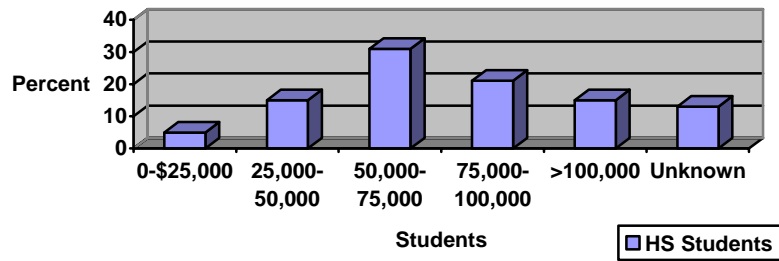over $100,000, and 13 percent unknown.

Chart I: Household Income

Chart J shows that household income had little effect on propensity to serve. All income levels chose to definitely not serve. Income was not a decisive factor determining whether or not the polled seniors aspired to attend college.
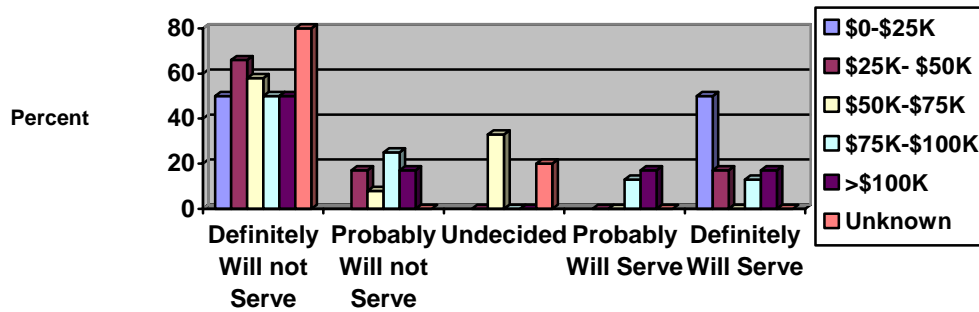

Chart J: Propensity to Serve by Household Income

Chart K shows the education levels of the polled students are evenly distributed.
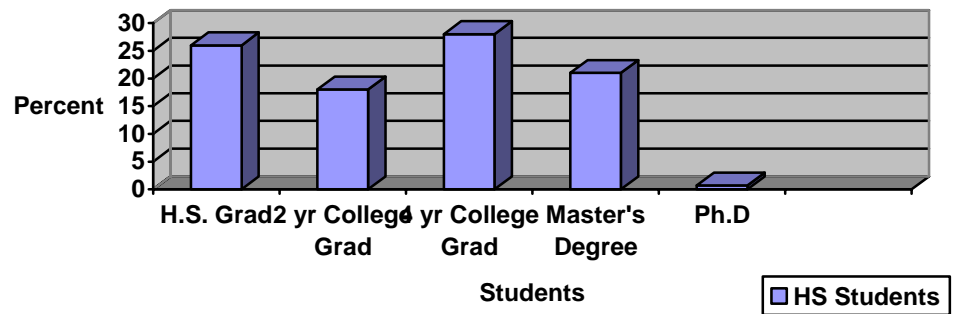
Chart K: Parent's Education Level

However, when the parent's education level is compared to the student's propensity to serve,

Chart L below shows that regardless of parent's education, most students surveyed definitely will

not serve in the military. A majority of the students whose parents achieved a master's degree
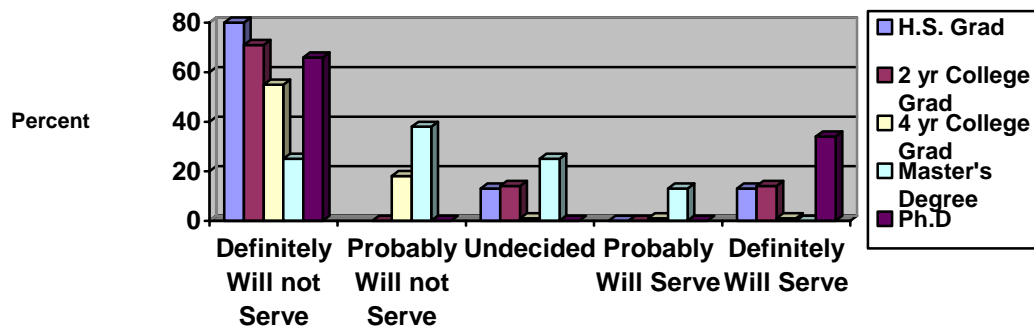
still probably would not serve.

Chart L: Propensity to Serve by Parent's Education Level

The aggregate results of the survey reinforced the findings throughout the monograph

that a majority of local Black high school students are unwilling to serve in the military. The

biggest difference between the local survey and previous surveys discussed in the paper is the

political correlation. The local survey showed less correlation between political preference and

propensity to serve. Whether Republican or Democratic, the preponderance of students was

unwilling to serve in the military. The political indifference amongst students may be attributed

to their level of understanding of the American political system and that potentially have to serve

in the military may take precedence over partisan politics.

DIVERSITY AND FUTURE READINESS

> Our nation's security and prosperity depend on our ability to develop and employ the talents of our diverse population. Equal opportunity is not just the right thing to do; it is also a military and economic necessity.

> Les Aspin Secretary of Defense, 1994

In a speech given to House of Representatives on June 2, 1981, General Robert H. Barrow, former Marine Corps Commandant stated, "Success in battle is not a function of how many show up, but who they are."[101] This section explores what impact, if any, the decline of Black recruits has on the U.S. Army diversity initiatives and ultimately, its readiness. The disproportionate decline in Black recruits, if not reversed, will indirectly erode diversity initiatives due to the decrease in population of future Black non-commissioned officers (NCOs) and ultimately jeopardize readiness. The concept of diversity goes beyond race and includes gender, religion, ethnicity, and social class. Katharine Esty, an organizational psychologist, defined diversity as "acknowledging, understanding, accepting, valuing, and celebrating differences among people with respect to age, class, ethnicity, gender, physical and mental ability, race, sexual orientation, spiritual practice, and public assistance status."[102] This section of the monograph focuses specifically on racial diversity with the assumption that the effects of racial and ethnic diversity are closely aligned. The duration of this section will treat racial and ethnic diversity for Blacks synonymously.

U.S. population demographics as of 2004 showed Blacks comprised 12.2 percent of the total United States population.[103] The Black population is projected to grow from 36 million to

---

[101]Jamison Yi, Captain, U.S. Marine Corps, "MCMAP and the
Marine Warrior Ethos," *Military Review*, November -December 2004, accessed at
http://www.au.af.mil/au/awc/awcgate/milreview/yi.pdf.

[102] Kelli A. Green, Mayra López, Allen Wysocki, and Karl Kepner, "Diversity in the Workplace: Benefits, Challenges, and the Required Managerial Tools," 28 January 2006, accessed at
http://edis.ifas.ufl.edu/HR022#FOOTNOTE_2.

[103] 2004 American Community Survey, United States Census Bureau, 28 January 2006, accessed at
http://factfinder.census.gov/servlet/ACSSAFFFacts?_event=e%22o_id=01000US&_geoContext=01000US

61 million in 2050, an increase of 71 percent. That change will increase Blacks' share of the nation's population from 13 percent in 2000 to 15 percent in 2050.[104] The Army, as an institution, continues to lead its sister services with respect to the population of Blacks in the Armed Forces. According to the *Population Bulletin* dated December 2004, as of 2001, Blacks made up 27 percent of the U.S. Army's enlisted and officer personnel compared to the Navy's 21 percent, Air Force's 18 percent, and Marine Corp's 15 percent. (See Figure 3)[105] With Blacks only representing 15.9 and 13.9 percent of the U.S. Army's total recruits in 2004 and 2005 respectively, a basic comparison of figures suggest the disproportionate decline in Blacks joining the military will affect the U.S. Army in greater proportion.
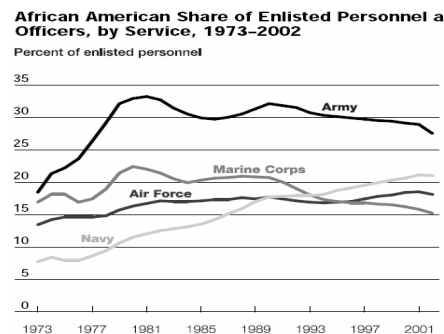

Figure 3: Black Population in the Military[106]

The U.S. Army historically relied on the pool of potential Black recruits to meet manpower goals. Author David Segal stated, "African American men and women have had higher levels of propensity to serve than have White men and women."[107] Segal also stated, "indeed the volunteer force would not have met its manpower goals without the increased

---

&_street=&_county=&_cityTown=&_state=&_zip=&_lang=en&_sse=on&ActiveGeoDiv=&_useEV=&pc txt=fph&pgsl=010.
    [104]Paola Scommegna, U.S. Growing Bigger, Older, and More Diverse, 27 January 2006, accessed at http://www.prb.org/Template.cfm?Section=PRB&template=/ContentManagement/ContentDisplay.cfm&C ontentID=10201.
    [105] David R. and Mady W. Segal, "America's Military Population," *Population Bulletin*, December 2004, 19.
    [106] Ibid., 19.
    [107] Ibid., 9.

representation of Blacks."[108] Segal's statements reinforce the notion that the U.S. Army is in a

critical bind regarding recruiting levels. Although recruitment is down across all races, the

disproportionate decline of Black recruitment potentially impacts racial diversity in the U.S.

Army.

Maintaining an adequate level of diversity is important in the U.S. Army as America's

population projections suggest a major shift in the ethnic composition of the country. This

current projection is on a dissimilar course with the recent decline of Blacks joining the U.S.

Army. With the recent decline, there is potential impact on diversity initiatives and readiness in

the future. Moskos stated, "Well, one of the important lessons is that we know that as you

increase the Black proportion in an organization like the Army, it can also increase the

effectiveness of the organization."[109] The increase in effectiveness results from better utilization

of human capital, enhanced work relationships, greater innovation and flexibility, improved

productivity, reduced employee turnover, and improved recruiting opportunities.[110]

The disproportionate decline of Black recruitment lends itself to the question, "Who Will

Fight the Next War?" Author Martin Binkin asked this same question in 1986 prior to the Persian

Gulf War. Binkin was more concerned with the overrepresentation of Blacks in the U.S. Army.

This overrepresentation resulted in what the author termed "cannon fodder," a common

euphemism referring to the perception a disproportionate amount of a certain group will die in

war. Although the "cannon fodder" theory was subsequently disproved, the perception remains.

The question "who will fight the next war" remains valid today. The decline of Black recruits has

---

[108] Ibid., 19.

[109] Integration, The Army Way, 20 May 1997, Transcript, The authors of *All That We Can Be: Black Leadership and Racial Integration the Army Way* discuss social success in the military. They say we could all learn much from the army model. David Gergen, editor-at-large of U.S. News & World Report, engages Professors Charles Moskos of Northwestern University and John Butler of the University of Texas at Austin. They are the co-authors of All That We Can Be: Black Leadership and Racial Integration the Army Way.

[110] Todd K. Varvel, LCDR, USN, "Ensuring Diversity Is Not Just Another Buzz Word," April 2000, Air Command And Staff College, Maxwell AFB, Alabama, 13.

implications for the U.S. Army force structure. Blacks have long been a cornerstone to the soldier population. The decline may impact the U.S. Army's ability to simultaneously wage war on in Afghanistan and Iraq, and prepare for another major contingency.

A diverse work force in the U.S. Army extends beyond initial entry level positions. A decline in Black recruits from 2000 to 2005 almost guarantees a shortage of NCOs in the near future. Stegal stated, "if there are fewer blacks coming in - and it is blacks who stay in and become NCOs - then six, seven, eight, nine years down the road, you can anticipate a shortage of sergeants." [111] In assessing the potential shortage of Black NCOs on the future readiness of the U.S. Army, the monograph used comparable arguments of a highly qualified body of military experts, who submitted an *Amici,[112]* and provided professional opinion regarding the University of Michigan's Supreme Court case on Affirmative Action.

The military experts concluded, "highly qualified, racially diverse officer corps educated and trained to command our nation's racially diverse enlisted ranks is essential to the military's ability to fulfill its principal mission to provide national security."[113] The group also asserted that "the military must be permitted to train and educate a diverse officer corps to further our compelling government interest in an effective military."[114] And "the absence of minority officers seriously threatened the military's ability to function effectively and fulfill its mission."[115] Although the experts' statements referenced the need for the University of Michigan to pursue diversity measures to help provide a racially integrated pool of potential officers, the

---

[111]" U.S. Military Sees Sharp Fall In Black Recruits, 18 December 2004,accessed at http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/main.jhtml?xml=/news/2004/12/18/wus18.xml.
(Filed: 18/12/2004)
[112] Amici are former high-ranking officers and civilian leaders of the Army, Navy, Air Force, and Marine Corps, including former military-academy superintendents, Secretaries of Defense, and present and former members of the U.S. Senate. For a list of noteworthy Amici members see http://www.umich.edu/%7Eurel/admissions/legal/gru_amicus-ussc/um/MilitaryL-both.pdf.
[113]Barbara Grutter, V. Lee Bollinger, et al., Supreme Court of the United States, 19 February 2003, accessed at http://www.umich.edu/%7Eurel/admissions/legal/gru_amicus-ussc/um/MilitaryL-both.pdf.
[114] Ibid.
[115] Ibid.

same argument can be made of the NCO Corps. Like the argument for a diverse officer corps, a diverse NCO Corps is also essential for the military to fulfill its principle mission and provide national security. Much like the argument for minority officers, the absence of minority NCOs seriously threatens the military's ability to effectively function and fulfill its mission. The same arguments the group made for the need for a racially diverse officer corps apply for the NCO Corps. The U.S. Army charges both commissioned and non-commissioned officers with leading the nation's soldiers to war. A diverse NCO Corps is equally as important as a diverse officer corps. The disproportionate decline in Black recruits hinders the U.S. Army's ability to provide a diverse NCO Corps in the future, thus threatening its ability to effectively function and fulfill its mission, potentially impacting readiness.

CONCLUSIONS and RECOMMENDATIONS

This monograph sought to gain a fundamental understanding of the propensity for Blacks to serve in the U.S. Army. The monograph's historical section revealed that Black Americans, in spite of adversity and racial prejudices, maintained a high propensity to serve their country. The essence of the historical overview is Blacks served their nation in often disproportionate numbers compared to the total population. For Blacks, the overwhelming sense of patriotism was inextricably linked to the battle for civil rights and equality. The underlying idea of being worthy to fight in the nation's battles warranted the same level of respect as a citizen in the United States. For the military, the use of Blacks in the force structure strictly resolved manning shortages.

From a historically economic standpoint, the military offered Blacks an opportunity to improve their monetary status, enabling them to support their families. The era of the Great Depression and Great Migration served as catalysts to the propensity for Blacks to serve in the military. The unwillingness of the Armed Forces to recruit Blacks at the same rate they were willing to serve, reinforces the notion Blacks were more than willing to serve their country. So the question becomes, "what has changed?" Then, using a modified PMESII framework, it

explored the political, economic and social aspects of Black culture to determine what underlying causes attributed to the decline. After determination of the potential causes, the monograph discussed to what extent diversity initiatives and ultimately combat readiness are affected.

Through analysis of the political, economic, and social aspects of Black culture, it is apparent that the GWOT definitely diminished the propensity of Blacks to serve in the military, and more specifically, the U.S. Army. Although the recent decline of Black recruits started before September 11, 2001, the GWOT has become the impetus of the lack of desire to join the military. Political rhetoric coupled with both the unwillingness to serve despite bleak economic conditions and social forces together have created an aversion to military service.

There seems to be a political chasm between supporters and non supporters of the GWOT. The fact that most non supporters of the GWOT are Democrats has only heightened this chasm. The debacle of the 2000 election, the overwhelmingly voice of the CBC, and domestic policy issues (affirmative action, tax cuts, and judicial appointments) have collectively reinforced the political chasm. Whether a pattern of reinforcement or the general perception, Democrats are more aligned with issues most important to Blacks. The strong alliance of Blacks to the Democratic Party may heighten their dissent of the current Administration's foreign policy possibly affecting their propensity to serve. Partisan politics has impacted the willingness of Blacks to serve in the military.

The economic section demonstrated that despite the still somewhat bleak economic conditions Blacks face today, they still lack the desire they once had to serve in the military. Historically, Blacks used the military to escape the prevalent economic conditions. Many reporters and columnists tout the recent disproportionate decline in Blacks joining the military is due to booming economic conditions. The monograph disproved this theory by highlighting the fact that economic conditions are not "booming" for everyone. An examination of the U.S. labor market and median household incomes refuted the common belief that an upturn in the economy

over the last five years has reduced the propensity of Blacks to join the military.

Along with the statistical economic analysis, the monograph also revealed that Blacks do not support ongoing operations in Iraq because of the perceived reallocation of U.S. dollars away from communities to support the war. Agencies, such as HUD, strive to increase home ownership opportunities. Domestic budget cuts due to an increase in defense spending do not sit well in the minds of many Blacks. This mindset potentially bears on the propensity of Blacks to join the military.

The monograph's Social domain included such factors as religion, civic organizations, familial ties, music and media. Although intangible, the Social domain proved as relevant in shaping the decisions of Blacks as the Political domain. Religion, the hip hop culture, and most importantly influencers, all combined to create an anathema of the GWOT in the Black community. Powerful religious figures, such as Reverends Jesse Jackson and Joseph Lowery, are founders of very influential organizations. Their espousal of anti-war sentiment reverberates throughout the Black community. Their messages are very influential, shape the perceptions of many Blacks, and affect the propensity of Blacks to serve in the military.

The monograph also explored the hip hop community, its anti-war sentiment, and discouragement of Blacks to join the military. The hip hop community is often taken for granted, but the monograph showed that hip hop is more than a style of music. Hip hop has evolved into a culture, one that includes political and social activism. Hip hop presents a powerful force among young Blacks, possibly one of the most influential social outlets affecting the decisions of young Blacks regarding military service.

Possibly more influential than the hip hop community, Black influencers (parents, coaches and mentors) are on average less inclined to agree with the war effort. Almost 75 percent of Black influencers stated the GWOT has made them less likely to recommend military

service.[116] The transference of Black influencers' dissent to Black youth has adversely impacted their propensity to join the military. The major anti-war theme of the Social domain has worked to decrease the enlistment rates of Blacks joining the U.S. Army.

The monograph included a survey of Black high school seniors from two local schools. The survey reinforced the findings throughout the monograph that the majority of local Black high school students were unwilling to serve in the military. The survey demonstrated that although the preponderance of students considered themselves Democrats, those considering themselves as Republicans or conservatives were on average, unwilling to serve as well. The students' level of interest and understanding of partisan politics may attribute to this finding. The survey also revealed an increased sense of neutrality when comparing OEF to OIF. More students felt neutral about operations in Afghanistan vice Iraq.

In response to the GWOT, the Political and Social aspects of the Black American culture have caused the recent disproportionate decrease in Black recruitment and may jeopardize diversity efforts in the U.S. Army. The decline, if not reversed, will indirectly erode diversity initiatives due to the decrease in population of future Black NCOs, and ultimately jeopardize the Army's readiness. Much like the Officer Corps, a diverse NCO Corps is essential for the military to fulfill its principle mission of winning the nation's wars and providing national security. The disproportionate decline in Black recruits hinders the U.S. Army's ability to provide a diverse NCO Corps in the future, thus threatening its ability to effectively function and fulfill its mission, potentially impacting readiness.

The monograph suggests in order to reverse the disproportionate decline, the answer lies beyond traditional high school recruiting practices, stereotypical hummers, and commercials. The great Black officers, NCOs and soldiers of the U.S. Army must go back to their communities

---

[116] June 2005 Influencer Poll conducted by the Joint Advertising, Market Research and Studies, June 2005.

and spread the word on two things: first, the great opportunities the U.S. Army has afforded them, and second, despite political preferences and social norms, everyone has a stake in the nation's security. The military is not for everybody; however, national security affects everyone. Part of taking care of one's family and loved ones is contributing to their security. Although not perfect, the U.S. Army has made great strides in creating an environment rich in racial harmony. The diminution of Black recruits ostensibly reverses the contributions of their Black military ancestors. One cannot effect change in an organization of which they are not a part.

APPENDIX A: HIGH SCHOOL SURVEY ON PROPENSITY TO SERVE

The percentage of Blacks serving in the U.S. Army has historically exceeded the percentage of the U.S. Black population. As Army recruiters struggle to enlist men and woman into the ranks, Blacks, who once represented 23% of the annual recruits in 2000, now only represent less than 14%. The purpose of this survey is to identify causes of the downward trend. Please answer all questions to the best of your ability.

1. How likely are you to go to college after high school graduation?

A. Definitely will not attend

B. Probably will not attend

C. Undecided

D. Probably will attend

E. Definitely will attend

2. How likely are you to attend a technical or vocational school after high school graduation?

A. Definitely will not attend

B. Probably will not attend

C. Undecided

D. Probably will attend

E. Definitely will attend

3. How likely are you to get a job immediately after high school graduation?

A. Definitely will not get a job

B. Probably will not get a job

C. Undecided

D. Probably will get a job

E. Definitely will get a job

4. How likely are you to join the military after high school graduation?

A. Definitely will not serve

B. Probably will not serve

C. Undecided

D. Probably will serve

E. Definitely will serve

4(a). If you answered (A), (B), or (C) for #4, what is the main reason?

5. If you were to enlist in the military, which branch of service would you join?

A. Air force

B. Army

C. Marines

D. Navy

E. Coast Guard

6. Has the Global War on Terrorism impacted your decision to:

A. Join the military

B. Go to college

C. Go to technical or vocational school

D. Get a job

7. Are you competing for an academic/athletic scholarship?

Yes   No

8. Which of the following people live in the same household with you? (Circle all applicable)

A. live alone

B. Mother (or female guardian)

C. Father (or male guardian)

D. Brother/Sister

9. Have your parents/guardians ever served in the military?

Yes   No

10. Circle the answer best describing your parent's/guardian's education level.

A. High School grad

B. 2 yr college grad

C. 4 yr college grad

D. Master's Degree

E. Ph.D.

11. What is your estimated household income?

A. 0-$25,000

B. 25,000-50,000

C. 50,000-75,000

D. 75,000-100,000

E. >100,000

12 The military is a good place to earn money for college.

A. Strongly Agree

B. Agree

C. Neutral

D. Disagree

E. Strongly Disagree

13. Do you agree with President Bush sending troops to Iraq in support of the Global War on

Terrorism?

A. Strongly Agree

B. Agree

C. Neutral

D. Disagree

E. Strongly Disagree

14. Do you agree with President Bush sending troops to Afghanistan in support of the Global War

on Terrorism?

A. Strongly Agree

B. Agree

C. Neutral

D. Disagree

E. Strongly Disagree

15. How would you describe your political preference?

A. Strongly Republican

B. Mildly Republican

C. Mildly Democrat

D. Strongly Democrat

E. No Preference Independent

F. Other

G. Don't Know, Haven't Decided

16. How would you describe your political beliefs?

A. Very Conservative

B. Conservative

C. Moderate

D. Liberal

E. Very Liberal

F. Radical

G. None of the Above/I Don't Know

17. Do you favor or oppose a military draft at the present time?

Favor   Oppose

18. Do you favor or oppose the implementation of a mandatory national service program

(Military Service, AmeriCorps, Homeland Security, Peace Corps)?

Favor   Oppose

Comments:

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Adams, Michael. *The Best War Ever: America and World War II*. Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1994.

"African Americans and the 2004 Vote." B.E.T/CBS News Poll. 6-15 July 2004.http://www.cbsnews.com/stories/2004/07/21/opinion/polls/main630986.shtml.

Aleman, Lillian M. "Parents Say 'No' To Military Recruiters: 90 Percent of MHS Parents Don't Want Student Records Released." 27 January 2005. http://www.montclairtimes.com/page.php?page=9016.

American Religious Identification Survey. The City University of New York, Graduate Center, 21 January 2006. http://www.gc.cuny.edu/faculty/research_briefs/aris/key_findings.htm.

Bardolph, Richard. *The Negro Vanguard*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and C., 1959.

Bennett, Claudette E. "We the Americans: Blacks." U.S. Department of Commerce, Economics and Statistics Administration (September 1993).

Black America's Political Action Committee (BAMPAC), 2004 National Survey of Registered Voters.

Bond, Julian. Speech given to 96th Annual NAACP Convention, 10 July 2005.

Burnett, Leo. "U.S. Army Reaches Influencers with Four New Commercials, Latest Effort Encourages Parents of Future Soldiers to 'Help Them Find Their Strength' as 'An Army of One.'" 18 April 2005. http://www.leoburnett.com/news/press_releases/2005/prapr18-94431.asp.

Bush, George W. Speech Given at the National Defense University. 8 March 2005, accessed at http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2005/03/20050308-3.html.

Camarillo, Albert. "Blacks and Hispanics in Urban America: Some Comparative Historical Perspectives." Stanford Center for Chicano Research, Stanford University, 1984.

Coffey, David. "African Americans in the Vietnam War." 20 January 2006. http://www.english.uiuc.edu/maps/poets/s_z/stevens/africanamer.htm.

Congressional Black Caucus Vision. 21 January 2005. http://www.cbcfinc.org/About/CBC/index.html.

Cooper, Christopher. "Army Losing African Americans." *Wall Street Journal*, 11 October 2004.http://olm.blythe-systems.com/pipermail/nytr/Week-of-Mon-20041011/007473.html.

Cooper, Michael L. The Double V Campaign: African Americans in World War II. Dutton: Lodestar Books, 1998.

Demographics of the United States, 21 January 2006. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Demographics_of_the_United_States#Religious_affiliation.

Donaldson, Gary A. *The History of African Americans in the Military*. Malabar: Kreiger Publishing Company, 1991.

"Dred Scott Case: The Supreme Court Decision." 20 January 2006. http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/aia/part4/4h2933.html.

Faler, Brian. "2006 Budget Proposal: Agency Breakdown." 7 February 2005. http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/politics/interactives/budget06/budget06Agencies.html.

"Forum: When Pittsburgh Took on the World." 4 February 2006.http://www.post-gazette.com/pg/05226/553317.stm.

Fourteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, 19 December 2005.http://www.nps.gov/malu/documents/amend14.htm.

Freidel, Frank. *F.D.R. and the South.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1965.

Freidman, Michael J. "40th Anniversary of the Civil Rights Act of 1964." U.S. Department of State. 21 December 2005. http://usinfo.state.gov/usa/civilrights/cract40anniv.htm.

Green, Kelli A. *et al.* "Diversity in the Workplace: Benefits, Challenges, and the Required Managerial Tools." 28 January 2006. http://edis.ifas.ufl.edu/HR022#FOOTNOTE_2.

Halfinger, David, M. and Steven A. Holmes. "Military Mirrors Working-Class America." 30 March 2003. http://www.nytimes.com/2003/03/30/international/worldspecial/30DEMO.html?ex=1137042000&en=ef7c76519e7891c1&ei=5070.

Herr, Michael. *Dispatches*. London: Picador, 1988.

Hip Hop definition, 21 January 2006. http://www.thefreedictionary.com/hip-hop.

Historical Income Tables – Households, U.S. Census Bureau, 11 January 2006. http://www.census.gov/hhes/www/income/histinc/h05.html.

"History of African Americans in the Civil War." National Park Service.19 December 2005. http://www.itd.nps.gov/cwss/history/aa_cw_history.htm.

Holbrook, Heber A. "The Crisis Years: 1940 and 1941." The Pacific Ship and Shore Historical Review. 4 July 2001. http://www.pacshiprev.com/PacificArchivesSubDirectory/page31.html.

Howard, Michael, and Peter Paret, ed. and trans. *On War.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976.

Hutchinson, Earl Ofari. "Not All Blacks Say "No" To Iraq War." 21 January 2006. http://www.thehutchinsonreport.com/040403feature.html..

_____. "Will Barbara Lee's Risky Gamble Pay Off?" 21 December 2005. http://www.alternet.org/columnists/story/11546/

"Iraq War Shows Up Divide Between White and Black in US." 7 April 2003. http://www.smh.com.au/articles/2003/04/06/1049567570237.html.

Jackson Sr., Jesse L. (Reverend). "Anti-War Demonstrators to Keep Marching; Pre-emptive Attack on Iraq a War Crime." Speech delivered to anti-war protesters on 15 March 2003, Los Angeles, California, 21 January 2006 http://www.sclcnational.org/nonprofit/sclc/.

Joiner, Whitney. "The Army Be Thuggin' it." 17 October 2003. http://archive.salon.com/mwt/feature/2003/10/17/army/index_np.html.

Joint Advertising, Market Research and Studies. June 2005 Influencer Poll, June 2005. "Joint Center 2002 National Opinion Poll Shows War With Iraq a Low Priority for Black Voters." The Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies. 29 October 2002, http://www.jointcenter.org/pressroom1/PressReleasesDetail.php?recordID=20.

Joint Forces Command Glossary.23 January 2005. http://www.jfcom.mil/about/glossary.htm.

June 2005 Influencer Poll conducted by the Joint Advertising, Market Research and Studies, June 2005.

Kohn, S. M. *Jailed For Peace* London: Praeger, 1987.

Lee, Ulysses. *The Employment of Negro Troops*. Washington D.C.: Center of Military History, 1994.

Lowery, Joseph (Reverend) with *Democracy Now*, 25 August 2005. http://www.democracynow.org/article.pl?sid=05/08/23/1321222.

_____. Speech given to anti-war demonstrators on 25 August 2005. http://www.troopsoutnow.org/campcasey.html.

Lynn, Kenneth S. "Up From Gunnar Myrdal." *The American Spectator*, 21 December 2005. http://www.manhattan-institute.org/html/_amerspec-up_from.htm.

Meier, August, and Elliot Rudwick, ed. rev. *From Plantation to Ghetto* New York: Hill and Wang, 1970.

Mfume, Kweisi."Mfume: War in Iraq Teaches Key Lesson at Home – We Need to Get Out." 8 January 2006. http://www.afterdowningstreet.org/?q=node/6567.

_____. 2002 NAACP Annual Convention Address, 8 July 2002. Houston, Texas. http://www.mindfully.org/Reform/2002/NAACP-Mfume-Convention-Address8jul02.htm.

Millions More March, 21 January 2005. http://www.millionmanmarch.org/about.htm.

Moniz, Dave. "Opportunities, Opposition to Iraq War Cut Into Recruiting." *USA Today*, 4 November 2005. http://www.usatoday.com/news/nation/2005-11-03-army-blacks-inside_x.htm.

Morales, Ed. "Military Luring Black and Latino Youth With Hip-Hop." 18 January 2006. http://www.hiphopconvention.org/issues/opinion/luring.cfm.

Morehouse, Maggie. *Fighting in the Jim Crow Army*. Lanham: Roman and Littlefield Publishers Inc., 2001.

Mullen, Robert. *Blacks in America's War*. New York: Monad Press. 1974.

National Counterintelligence Center. The American Revolution and the Post-Revolutionary Era: A Historical Legacy, Chapter 1. 28 January 2006. http://www.fas.org/irp/ops/ci/docs/ci1/ch1a.htm.

Neal, Terry. "Military's Recruiting Troubles Extend to Affluent War Supporters." *The Washington Post*, 22 August 2005. http://peaceandjustice.org/article.php?story=20050823124721473&mode=print0.

Philpot, Tom, "Number of Black Army Recruits Declining." *The North County Times*, 18 January 2006. http://www.nctimes.com/articles/2005/03/05/news/columnists/philpott/3405184934.txt.

Race and Ethnicity Among Selected Religious Groups. The City University of New York, Graduate Center Graduate Center, 21 January 2006. http://www.gc.cuny.edu/faculty/research_briefs/aris/key_findings.htm.

Roff, Peter. "Analysis: Wither the Black Vote in 2004?" *The Washington Times*. 20 January 2006. http://www.washtimes.com/upi-breaking/20041005-020953-7838r.htm.

Rustin, Bayard. Strategies for Freedom: The Changing Patterns of Black Protest. New York: Columbia University Press, 1976.

Scommegna, Paola. "U.S. Growing Bigger, Older, and More Diverse." 27 January 2006. http://www.prb.org/Template.cfm?Section=PRB&template=/ContentManagement/ContentDisplay.cm&ContentID=10201.

Segal, David R. and Mady W. Segal, "America's Military Population." *Population Bulletin*, December 2004.

Southern Christian Leadership Coalition, 21 January 2006. http://www.sclcnational.org/net/content/item.aspx?s=3045.0.12.2607.

Strength of the Army, 1 Jan 47, STM-30. "Manpower and Readjustments." Table 10, Accessions of Enlisted Men By Source. 21 December 2005. http://www.world-war-2-history.com/books/1/15/.

"The 100 most influential Black Americans." *Ebony Magazine*, May 1989.http://www.findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_m1077/is_n7_v44/ai_7569425.

"The Presidency of Theodore Roosevelt." 21 January 2006. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Presidency_of_Theodore_Roosevelt.

"Tracking the Goal of Educational Parity." Project 2019. 22 December 2005. http://www.project2019.com/sEduAttain.htm.

The Rainbow Push Coalition, 21 January 2005. http://www.rainbowpush.org/about/index.html.

"U.S. Army Reaches Influencers with Four New Commercials: Latest Effort Encourages Parents of Future Soldiers to 'Help Them Find Their Strength' as 'An Army of One.'" 18 April 2005.http://www.leoburnett.com/news/press_releases/2005/prapr18-94431.asp.

United States Census Bureau. 2004 American Community Survey, 28 January 2006. http://factfinder.census.gov/servlet/ACSSAFFFacts?_event=e%22o_id=01000US&_geoContext=01000US&_street=&_county=&_cityTown=&_state=&_zip=&_lang=en&_sse=on&ActiveGeoDiv=& _useEV=&pctxt=fph&pgsl=010.

U.S. Census Bureau. Race for the United States, Regions, Divisions, and States: 1940. Table A-10. 21 December 2005. http://www.census.gov/population/documentation/twps0056/tabA-10.pdf.

U.S. Department of Education, 11 January 2005. http://www.ed.gov/about/landing.jhtml?src=gu.

U.S. Department of Education. No Child Left Behind Act, Section 9528, 18 January 2006. http://www.ed.gov/policy/elsec/leg/esea02/pg112.html.

U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development. HUD Strategic Plan, FY 2003- FY 2008, March 2003. http://www.hud.gov/offices/cfo/reports/03strategic.pdf.

U.S. Department of Labor Bureau of Labor Statistics. *Labor Force Statistics from the Current Population*, 28 December 2005. http://data.bls.gov/PDQ/servlet/SurveyOutputServlet?data_tool=latest_numbers&series_id=LNS140   00000.

"U.S. Military Sees Sharp Fall In Black Recruits." 18 December 2004.http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/main.jhtml?xml=/news/2004/12/18/wus18.xml.

U.S. President. Executive Order. Executive Order 9981. 22 December 2005. http://www.trumanlibrary.org/9981a.htm.

U.S. President National Exit Poll. 11 January 2005.
http://www.cnn.com/ELECTION/2004/pages/results/states/US/P/00/epolls.0.html.

United States Supreme Court Barbara Grutter, v. Lee Bollinger, et al. 19 February 2003.
http://www.umich.edu/%7Eurel/admissions/legal/gru_amicus-ussc/um/MilitaryL-both.pdf.

Varvel, Todd K., Lieutenant Commander, U.S. Navy. "Ensuring Diversity Is Not Just Another
Buzz Word." April 2000. Air Command and Staff College, Maxwell AFB, Alabama.

"Wade - Davis Bill." National Archives and Records Administration. 19 December 2005
http://www.classbrain.com/artteenst/publish/article_55.shtml.

White, Josh. "Steady Drop in Black Army Recruits: Data Said to Reflect Views on Iraq War."
The Washington Post, 9 March 2005. http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A18461-   2005Mar8.html.

 "World War II: The Army." Table 1 Classification of All Men Tested From March 1941
Through December 1943, Tab A, Memo, G-3 for CofS, 10 Apr 43, AG 201.2 (19 Mar
43) 22 December 2005, accessed at http://www.army.mil/cmh-pg/books/integration/IAF-02.htm.

Yearwood, Lennox (Reverend). Speech given to Millions More March, 14 October 2005.
Washington D.C. http://www.pdamerica.org/articles/news/yearwood-million-more.php.

Yi, Jamison, Captain, U.S. Marine Corps. "MCMAP and the Marine Warrior Ethos." *Military
Review*, (November -December 2004).
http://www.au.af.mil/au/awc/awcgate/milreview/yi.pdf.

Young, Gary. "End of the Rainbow: In 2000 the Republicans Paraded their Diversity. But Now
the Party is Showing its True Color – White." 23 January 2005.
http://www.commondreams.org/views04/0906-28.htm.